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The Early History

OF THE

COLDSTREAM GUARDS

George Monck, Duke of Albemarle

From the miniature by Samuel Cooper at Windsor Castle

Emery Walker phot.

The Early History

OF THE

COLDSTREAM GUARDS

by

G. DAVIES

OXFORD
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1924

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D28
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THIS account of the early history of
His Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards
is humbly dedicated, by special permission,
to the Colonel-in-Chief of the Regiment

His Most Gracious Majesty

KING GEORGE V

NULLI SECUNDUS

'THE Town of *Coldstream* . . . . hath given title to a small company of men whom God made the Instruments of Great Things; and though poor, yet honest as ever corrupt Nature produced into the World, by the no dishonourable Name of *Coldstreamers*.'

Thomas Gumble, *The Life of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle*, p. 175.

'THESE *Coldstreamers* were . . . . men of Might, men of Warr, fit for the battel, that could handle Sword and Buckler, whose Faces were like the Faces of Lions, and were as swift as the Roes upon the Mountains. Such were our brave Officers, who made their Beds upon the Ice, and travelled over Mountains of Snow, to redeem their Countrey. Let Posterity celebrate their Memory, and let the Ages to come call them Blessed. *Ibid.*, pp. 189–90.

'TAKING to him the help of a few Coldstreamers, in the Compass of a few weeks, without the expense of one drop of blood, He scattered the invincible Armies and Armadoes of the Rebellious, which had so long subjugated these Nations . . . . The Souldiers looked upon him as their Father, and were ready and ambitious to live and die with him.'

Sermon at the Funeral of George, Duke of Albemarle.

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George Monck, Duke of Albemarle. *Frontispiece.*

From the miniature of Samuel Cooper at Windsor Castle.

George Monck, Duke of Albemarle. *Facing* p. xxxviii.

From the portrait by an unknown artist in the possession of Sir Arthur Hazlerigg at Noseley Hall, Leicester.

Robert Lilburne, 1650. *Facing* p. 18.

From the miniature by Samuel Cooper at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington [Salting Bequest: p. 126, 1910]. The identification of the subject of this miniature with Robert Lilburne is probable, but not certain. There can be little doubt, however, that it represents either Robert Lilburne or his younger brother, John, and the poverty of John Lilburne in 1650 renders it extremely unlikely that he had any money to spend on his portrait. Unfortunately little is known of the previous history of this miniature, except that it was sold by Mr. S. Addington at Christie's on 26 April, 1883. It probably belonged to Robert Grave in 1811 and was engraved in mezzotint as a portrait of Robert Lilburne by R. Earlom for *Portraits of Characters Illustrious in British History*, published by Woodburn [*ex inform.* Sir Cecil H. Smith, Director and Secretary of the Victoria and Albert Museum].

The manner of His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Officers of His Armie sitting in Covncell. *Facing* p. 26.

From a woodcut prefixed to *A Declaration of the Engagements, Remonstrances, Representations, Proposals, Desires, and Resolutions from His Excellency Sir Tho: Fairfax, and the generall Councel of the Army*; sm. 4to, London, 1647. Bodleian Library [Radcliffe e. 40 (13)].

The Battle of Dunbar. *Between* pp. 40 *and* 41.

This picture-plan was drawn by a contemporary, Payne Fisher, who was officially appointed to write the history of these wars. So far as is known, this is the sole fruit of his historical studies. From the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library [C. 111. 293].

Monck's Letter on the Storming of Dundee. *Facing* p. 48.

This letter was written by Monck's secretary, William Clarke, and is a good specimen both of Monk's official correspondence and of the handwriting of most of the records on which this *Early History* is based. The endorsements prove that it is the original dispatch. The marginal note 'print not this clause' illustrates the practice of the military censorship then in force. The letter is printed in Henry Cary's *Memorials of the Civil War*, vol. ii. From the Bodleian Library [Tanner MS. 55, fo. 21].

Seventeenth century pikemen and musketeers. *Facing* pp. 63–66.

In order to avoid reproducing the usual pictures found in military treatises of the period, which are usually mere reproductions of Dutch engravings of an earlier date, an attempt has been made to photograph guardsmen dressed in accordance with contemporary accounts and armed with contemporary weapons lent by the authorities in the Tower. In the first picture the pikeman on the left is 'ordering' his pike, the other is 'trailing' his pike. In the second the pikeman has assumed the attitude for preparing to receive a cavalry charge. It is unfortunate that at the time of photographing the gauntlets for the pikemen were overlooked. The first musketeer is 'shouldering arms', and the second firing.

A full description of the equipment of pikemen and musketeers will be found on pp. 63–67.

George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, 1661. *Facing* p. 88.

From Loggan's engraving in the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library [C. iv. 344].

Sir Arthur Hesilrige. *Facing* p. 106.

From a portrait by an unknown artist in the possession of his descendant, Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, at Noseley Hall.

The Funeral Armour of George Monck, Duke of Albemarle. *Facing* p. 112.

The accompanying plate shows the suit of armour that was provided for the effigy of General Monck which was borne at his state funeral in 1670, and which is now preserved along with other historical effigies and wax figures in Westminster Abbey.

With the exception of a buff-coat and drawers, a belt, and the dummy head which is almost entirely effaced but retains the coronet and the remnants of a moustache and wig, it is all that remains of the figure which is illustrated in Sandford's *The Order and Ceremonies Used for, and at the Solemn Interment of The most High, Mighty, and most Noble Prince GEORGE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE etc. 1670.*

The armour is of rough but solid make, and very different from the thin

material usually found in funeral armour of the seventeenth century. It is a russet colour with the rivet heads and edges picked out in yellow or gilt paint, and was probably once a cuirassier's three-quarter suit of the first half of the century. On the occasion when it was repaired at the Tower of London in 1907 Viscount Dillon, who was then the Curator of the Tower Armouries, pointed out that the legs below the knee are probably of an earlier date and are in the style of the years 1566–88.

The effigy with its armour has been very fully dealt with by the late Sir William St. John Hope in his paper on *The Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England* in *Archaeologia*, vol. lx, pt. 2, pp. 559–63, where he gives a long and most interesting transcription from the warrant for its making issued to the Master of the King's Great Wardrobe. It was ordered to be 'in Compleate Armour azured with guilt nailes and guirt with a Girdle of Crimson of velvett with gold lace', and further on we find the item 'Joseph Worwood Armourer Craveth Allowance as followeth viz^{t}. ffor one Suite of Armour Cap-a-pe cont' backe breast Helmet Poulderns Gantlets Culet Quishes, and Greaves £20. 00. 00.' This seems a large sum when obsolete suits of troopers' armour cannot have been uncommon. The original helmet, which was probably a purely heraldic one, as shown in Sandford's plate, for the head in wig and coronet was uncovered, is now missing. There is a tradition that at one time it was used in the Abbey as a collecting-box, but this may refer to his cap of estate which is described by Goldsmith (*vide infra*) as having been used for this purpose. The helmet shown in our photograph is one of contemporary date kindly lent for the occasion by the Authorities of the Tower of London. The gauntlets are now in a fragmentary state and are not shown in the illustration.

Oliver Goldsmith in his *Citizen of the World*, letter XIII, mentions the armour as he saw it about 1760; 'From hence our conductor led us through several dark walks and winding ways, uttering lies, talking to himself, and flourishing a wand which he held in his hand. He reminded me of the black magicians of Kobi. After we had been almost fatigued with a variety of objects, he at last desired me to consider attentively a certain suit of armour, which seemed to show nothing remarkable. "This armour," said he, "belonged to General Monk...."

In its present condition the dummy presents so grotesque an appearance that at the suggestion of Mr. Wilkinson, and with the kind permission of the Authorities of the Abbey, the armour was removed from its stand and photographed for this work at the Tower of London, mounted with truncheon, George, and sash in the manner of military equestrian portraits of the late seventeenth century.

J. G. M.

PREFACE

(*By Brigadier-General* H. W. Studd, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., *Lieut.-Colonel Commanding Coldstream Guards*, 1919–1923.)

In 1920, Mr. C. H. Wilkinson, M.C., Fellow and Librarian of Worcester College, Oxford, who held a commission in the Coldstream Guards during the Great War and served with the Regiment in France, brought to the notice of Regimental Headquarters the fact that there were many documents in his charge which threw a strong light on the origin and early history of the Regiment.

The old documents to which Mr. Wilkinson drew attention were rediscovered about twenty years ago in the Worcester College Library, and give a large quantity of information which was not available in 1833 when Colonel Daniel Mackinnon published his book *The Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*.

This material consists of the Clarke Papers and a mass of Civil War pamphlets of which in many cases no duplicates exist. These documents and pamphlets, which are more fully described in the Note on the Authorities, contain accounts of the events of the Civil War and the War in Scotland, 1650–59, and include the proceedings of Councils of Officers and of Courts Martial, which give a vivid picture of the methods of discipline and the life of the soldier in those days.

Mr. Wilkinson suggested that this material should be laid under tribute to produce a better account of the origin and early history of the Coldstream. The importance of the suggestion was at once apparent, but we were confronted with the difficulty

of finding any one with the requisite knowledge of the history of the period to utilize fully the material available. This obstacle was overcome by the consent of Mr. Godfrey Davies, of Pembroke College, Oxford, to undertake the work.

Mr. Davies had for some years been working with Sir Charles Firth, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and had an intimate acquaintance with the masses of documents which show the Regiment's origin as an integral part of Cromwell's New Model. Through these documents can be traced the early history of the Coldstream closely interwoven with the military, political, and religious history of the Commonwealth and with the causes which led to the Restoration of Charles II. In this development the direction of events by Monck and the part played by his Regiment were dominating factors.

The force which marched with Monck from Scotland in January 1660 was commonly called by the Army and the citizens of London 'The Coldstreamers'. Of this force the sole survivors were the Regiment officially known as Monck's Regiment of Foot, later as the Lord-General's Regiment of Foot Guards. After Monck's death in 1670 the title of the Regiment was changed to that which it has borne ever since—His Majesty's Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards, or simply The Coldstream Guards.

During the Civil War regiments were known by the name of their commanders, and Hesilrige's Regiment and Fenwick's Regiment, the immediate forbears of the Coldstream, changed their names whenever their commanders were changed. The identity of the Regiment was unaltered, though its name and sometimes its emblem or flag or 'Colours' were varied. It was the custom during these times for each company of a regiment to have a flag, which was called the Company Colour. These Colours were provided by the colonel of the regiment, and bore such distinguishing marks or symbols as were authorized by him. The way in which these Company Colours have survived to the present day is not without interest.

We have no exact description of the Colours of Monck's

Regiment in 1650, but in May 1660 one of these Colours is described as being a green standard with six white balls and a red cross on it. This was probably the Colour of the Sixth Company, and was part of a set starting with Monck's own Company Colour, a plain green flag, for the Colonel of the Regiment, the Lieutenant-Colonel, and the Major all nominally commanded Companies.

The Colonel's Colour was a plain green flag, that of the Lieutenant-Colonel was the same with the Cross of St. George in the upper corner next to the pole. The Major's Colour had as a further addition a 'blaze', or what is heraldically called 'a pile wavy or', issuing from the lower corner of the Canton.

From time to time the Colours of the Regiment underwent certain changes. Just before Monck's death, Charles II signed a warrant for new Colours. A blue flag was substituted for the old green one. The Cross of St. George was retained, and was extended over the whole field of the Colour. The distinguishing badges of the various Companies were unaltered. At Monck's death, when the name of the Regiment was changed to His Majesty's Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards, the Colours became personal to the Sovereign and ceased to be personal to the Colonel of the Regiment.

James II, on his accession in 1685, changed the colour of the flag from blue to white.

In 1689 William III added a large Royal cipher to the Colour of the Colonel's Company, and a smaller cipher to each of the other colours. He also changed the colour of the flag to crimson, as it has remained ever since, and associated the Regiment with the Order of the Garter. The Colour of the Colonel's Company had emblazoned on it the Star of the Order of the Garter and a Crown, and some of the Companies were given badges from the insignia of the Order; others were given Royal Badges.

In 1707 the Cross of St. George became the *Union* (of England and Scotland) by the addition of the Cross of St. Andrew, just as later the Cross of St. Patrick was added to signify the inclusion of Ireland in the United Kingdom.

In 1729 there were eighteen Company Colours. At this time Battalions did not form a permanent feature of the organization of the Regiment. When occasion demanded, as, for instance, active service, any Companies which were conveniently situated were grouped together to form a temporary Battalion. It was only later that the Regiment was permanently organized into Battalions. When Battalions were formed the importance of Companies as units was somewhat reduced. The Colours of the Companies were less used than before. It became the custom to use the Colour of the Colonel's Company as the First or King's Colour of the 1st Battalion, and that of the Lieutenant-Colonel's Company in the same way for the 2nd Battalion. At the same time the Colours of the other Companies in turn were carried as the Second or Regimental Colour of the Battalion, irrespective of the Battalion to which the Company belonged. At the present day, when new Colours are issued to a Battalion the Regimental Colour has emblazoned on it the badge of the Company whose turn it is to be thus honoured, so that although the First or King's Colour remains the same, the new Regimental Colour bears a device different from that of the old Regimental Colour.

In spite of changed conditions the use of Company Colours has not disappeared, for each Company possesses its own Colour, though its size has been reduced, and it is used in camp to mark the position of the Company lines. It is little more than 110 years ago that Battle Honours first appear emblazoned on the Colours, and by that time the custom of having Battalion Colours was well established. The Company Colours in consequence are not emblazoned with the names of the victories in which the Regiment has played a part.

This short account of the Colours of the Regiment has been continued beyond the period treated of in the body of the book so as to show how the present Colours of the Regiment have been directly evolved from those carried in the earliest days of Regimental History.

To Mr. Godfrey Davies the Regiment owes a debt of gratitude

for the illuminating account which is now published. Without his great knowledge of the history of those times, such an account could never have appeared in its true proportions. By his skill he has given us not the dry bones of history, but a book palpitating with human as well as historical interest.

Thanks are also due to Sir Arthur Hazlerigg for permission to reproduce the picture of his ancestor, who commanded the Regiment from which five Companies of the Coldstream were drawn.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

(By The Hon. J. W. Fortescue, L.L.D.)

IT is the peculiar distinction of the Coldstream Guards that they are the sole surviving representatives of the first highly trained and highly disciplined British army. That Army did indeed inherit great traditions from their forerunners who had fought at Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; but in those early days infantry was as yet hardly developed, and the military profession had not yet begun to be a thing apart. The village archer could afford to provide himself with his own weapon, and, by the mastery of an exacting technique, to attain to astonishing skill in the use of it. But, when firearms drove out the bow, the price of the new weapon was beyond a villager's resources; the burden of providing it was thrown upon the State; and, until a man was actually enlisted, he seldom had a chance of learning the use of it. Few of us realize how gradual was the process by which the rustic amateur was converted into the professional soldier.

In this volume the conditions and the circumstances of the first Coldstreamers' service are minutely described; but the reader will be struck with the uncertainty under which the soldier lay in respect of his pay, his clothing, and even sometimes his ammunition. The truth is that it took long to realize and make allowance for the differences that

distinguished the hired soldier from any other description of hired labourer. The last-named of course received his wages, and out of them he paid for his board, lodging, clothing, and, in at least many cases, for the tools of his trade. Equally, the soldier at the outset paid out of his wages for his clothing, his subsistence and his lodging, by stoppages from his pay; and, though the tools of his trade were provided for him, there are instances on record when he was required to bring with him his own supply of ammunition.

The soldier's resemblance to any other hired workman was heightened by the fact that he was less the country's servant than the Colonel's. The regiment was the Colonel's property, bought for money; and the companies of which it was composed were the Captains' property, equally bought for money. This arrangement gave the Colonel a great deal of independent power; and in fact the Army at large was not an army at all, but merely a collection of regiments. Everything was organized upon a regimental basis. All allowances for contingencies, for hospitals and other incidental expenses, were disguised as the pay of fictitious men on the regimental muster-rolls. Even general officers, until 1814, received no salary as such unless specially employed, but had to be content with their regimental pay. The regimental doctor and the regimental chaplain began life as the Colonel's servants, and the result was that the regimental chaplain before the end of the eighteenth century had almost disappeared. The really important functionary, for he had to do with the regimental finance, was the Colonel's clerk, who developed before very long into the regimental agent, and ultimately into the huge banking business of Messrs. Cox.

Until the very end of the eighteenth century the agents did practically the entire financial business of the Army, the War Office comprehending only a small body of clerks, whose duty it was to find a way through a maze of allowances, stoppages, additions, subtractions, and divisions which had grown up in the course of a century and a half, and which marked the various stages in the soldier's progress from the state of a mere weekly labourer to that of a professional fighting man. No one except these clerks understood this task—indeed it is doubtful whether even they did at the last—and no one who has not seen specimens of company-accounts and agents' accounts, and read the correspondence of recruiting officers with their colonels, can have any idea of the financial difficulties and complications which were part of the ordinary routine in keeping a regiment not necessarily efficient, but simply alive and in being.

When it came to active service, and the routine of peace was upset, the confusion was of course increased. There was, it must be remembered, no such thing as an Army Service Corps until the end of the nineteenth century; and all the business of transport and supply was done by contract under the supervision of commissaries appointed by the Treasury. In that old battle-ground of the Coldstream, the Low Countries and Flanders, a contractor, or contractors, could always be found who knew the business thoroughly. Campaigns over that country were so frequent that experience had made this task a simple one. But the contractor was concerned only with bread and fuel. Everything else was a regimental matter conducted by the regimental sutler, which meant more stoppages, more financial regulations, and

more accounts. Incidentally, this arrangement must have been bad for discipline, for the soldier, who had to pay for his ration of meat, had great temptation to lay violent hands upon every fowl, pig, or sheep that came in his way. The British army had not the best reputation on the Continent for good behaviour, except in action; and this is probably one reason for it. Meanwhile it is worth while to note that in the regimental sutler lay the germ of the regimental canteen.

When the sphere of action was some half-wild country, such as North America (which the Coldstream visited twice on active service), or a hot climate such as Egypt, where the conditions of transport and supply were abnormal, the commissariat was always in difficulties, and the men were bound to suffer. Moreover, the clothing regulations made no allowance for differences of climate; and a Colonel could not be expected, from the twopence daily stopped from every man's pay for his clothing, to equip his regiment suddenly to fight this year at the North Pole and next year on the Equator. All these things should be taken into account when one reads the story of these old campaigns, with statistics of mortality and of crime. Sustained discomfort and privation are a great trial to discipline; and the marvel is not that men occasionally behaved ill on the march or in quarters, but that, as a rule, they behaved so well. Their officers, it is true, did all that was possible for them; though frequently they were powerless from sheer lack of means. But, apart from this, there was an astounding depth of patient endurance and moral courage in the old soldier who had enlisted for life, with a regimental pride that was touching in its intensity. The regiment was his home, his idol, his all.

In the matter of armament the Coldstream began their days while the old separation of shock-weapons from missile weapons was still the rule. As in the Middle Ages there had been the archer for missile action and the dismounted man-at-arms with his lance for shock-action, so in the New Model there were the musketeer and the pikeman. Inventors were already feeling their way towards a combination of the two functions in one weapon; and during the Civil War one ingenious gentleman projected the fitting of a bow on to a pike. Before the Coldstream were a generation old, the problem had been solved by the invention of the bayonet, and thenceforward the musket and bayonet, with a little superficial variation, remained the same for the regiment for one hundred and fifty years. Even when the Coldstream were coming to birth, the matchlock was giving place to the flintlock, and the flintlock was not ousted by the percussion-cap until 1839. More noteworthy still is it that the method of maintaining a continuous fire invented by Gustavus Adolphus—the system of firing by platoons, as it was called—remained unimproved upon for over two hundred years.

It is a singular fact that though every nation, our own not excluded, values itself upon its prowess with the bayonet, the tendency in human nature at large is to prefer missile action to shock action, or, in other words, to prefer stopping an enemy at a distance to allowing him to close. There has rarely, if ever, been a modern war of any importance in which the combatants have not, upon at least one occasion, resorted to the most primitive form of missile action—the throwing of stones by the hand—as did, for instance, the Coldstream at Inkerman. Since shock-action is necessarily limited to cutting, thrusting,

and bludgeoning, all development of weapons is practically confined to missiles, and it is accordingly in missile action that all military progress has been made. Yet that progress was at the first slow, and its consequent influence upon tactics was very gradual. From the first introduction of the flintlock, the effort was to turn a battalion into an animated machine-gun; and hence the extraordinary importance attached to minute details of drill, and, in particular, to the manual and firing exercises. Mechanical precision was everything; and the old soldier was valued because he carried that mechanical precision to perfection. It was so instinctive with him that he could go through it in his sleep; and it is only when we examine his weapon minutely that we can understand why so much was made of him.

The musket, which we know by the name of 'Brown Bess', had one great defect, which continued unabated up to the time of its abolition in 1839. The proportion of miss-fires amounted to no fewer than forty per cent. in the most favourable circumstances; and in heavy rain, when the priming was inevitably damped before the pan could be closed, the musket was, as a missile weapon, useless. All training, therefore, was directed to one object primarily, namely, to ensure that the weapon should be so loaded that it should miss fire as seldom as possible. The fixing of the flints required some skill. In time of peace the men carried bones in their muskets in place of flints; and a battalion, if suddenly ordered out to second the civil power, needed an hour or two to substitute flints for bones. The old soldier, no doubt, knew cunning little tricks which ensured that the flint should kindle a spark. The rest of the business of

loading was a matter of sheer drill, in which from long practice he excelled. So long as a battalion was drawn up three ranks deep, muskets were made very long in the barrel; and the ramming down of the charge was a more serious matter than might at first sight appear. But towards the end of the eighteenth century the musket was shortened, and a highly trained man could load and fire from eight to ten times a minute. The pull of the trigger was very stiff, but the weight of the musket and the length of the barrel must have tended to counteract the inevitable tendency to throw the muzzle up when firing. At any rate, the men were taught to fire low; and above all things officers were careful to husband the first volley, since the muskets had been loaded at leisure and were therefore less likely to miss fire. We see the result of this rigid training in perfection at Fontenoy, where the British (the Coldstream being in the first line) advanced for half a mile up a perfect natural glacis to the attack of a re-entrant angle under a cross-fire of artillery, received the bullets of the entrenched French infantry at the summit, and only then, when one man in three had already fallen, levelled their muskets at the word of command, and blasted the French infantry off the ground. So deadly was their fire that nothing could live near them; and the officers were seen tapping down the muskets with their canes so that every bullet should tell. Fontenoy, of course, ended in a reverse; but it was none the less a magnificent performance.

And here it must be noted that, to perfect the animated machine-gun so far as possible, there were attached to each battalion two light field-pieces, known as battalion-guns, so that the action might be opened at greater than musket-

range with round-shot, and continued, as the enemy drew closer, with grape. Modern machine-guns, pumping out a continuous stream of lead accurately and at very high velocity, make grape seem a very small matter; yet grape at close range (up to two hundred yards) was very deadly, and, to troops that came under it for the first time, very demoralizing. But the worst trial to which infantry could be subjected was to be under fire of ricochet round-shot, when the missile could be seen bounding along the ground straight towards a man, and the man was forbidden by discipline to step out of its way. Only British infantry could endure this; and that is why no foreign general dared to copy Wellington in drawing up his army on the reverse side of a slope. At Fontenoy the British were plied first with enfilading fire of round-shot, then, as they drew nearer, with grape, and finally, when the French gunners had exhausted their ammunition to no purpose, with nails, pieces of glass, scraps of iron and anything that came to hand. Nothing, however, could stop them.

The next step towards improvement of the animated machine-gun was copied from the Prussians. At the period of Fontenoy the soldier stood at attention with his legs apart. Frederick the Great, in order to compress a greater number of muskets into a given space, made the men stand with heels together and touching each other. The next lesson was learned from a very different enemy. In the American War of Independence there was a vast deal of woodland fighting, in which the American backwoodsman, who was skilful in concealing himself and was a deadly shot with the rifle, had a decided advantage. It was necessary to train British soldiers to meet him with a like weapon; and, for greater flexibility, as well as for

greater safety, to reduce the three ranks, in which the British infantry had hitherto fought, to two. Incidentally, the war showed the value of skilled individual marksmanship; and, to all intent, the campaigns in America from 1775 to 1781 brought about much the same changes, relatively speaking, as the South African War of 1899–1902—namely, more open formations and greater attention to musketry. The animated machine-gun in the British Army was thenceforward to command a wider extent of front and attain to greater accuracy; and, to judge from a little action fought at St. Lucia in 1778, the British troops, trained in the American War, would have beaten any other European troops of the same number with the greatest ease.

From the American War, therefore, dates the first movement towards individual initiative in the soldier, though it did not make itself strongly felt at once. When the war broke out with France in 1793, the Army was so weak in numbers that it could hardly be said to exist; and such remnant of it as remained was destroyed within six months. Its quality, however, was superb, as was seen at Lincelles and in the defeat—due to the treachery of the Austrians—at Tourcoing. Owing to gross mismanagement is was full six years before another Army was formed; and then some real advance was made. The rifle was introduced; and in certain regiments, trained by Sir John Moore at Shorncliffe, the encouragement of individual initiative became a principle. Prejudice forbade the extension of that training to the whole Army; and, indeed, Moore's reforms waited a full century for universal acceptance. Still marksmanship had improved everywhere, and never was the British

musketry more deadly than in the fields of the Peninsula. Discipline, nevertheless, was somewhat imperfect in the Peninsular army for some years, owing to the fault, not of officers, but of the House of Commons. There were times, too, when even the officers were found wanting, except in the Guards, as was seen on the stormy night when no troops, saving the Coldstream and the Scots Guards, took up their appointed places in the trenches before Burgos. By the time, however, that the Army entered France, Wellington had found the means of enforcing discipline despite of the House of Commons, and all was in the best of order.

One thing, however, must be remembered when the deadly fire of the British infantry in the Peninsula is quoted, as it frequently is, as the decisive factor in the British victories, namely, that it was supplemented by a very deadly artillery-fire. Major Shrapnel, by the invention of his shell, had contrived practically to pour grape-shot upon an enemy at a range of eight hundred, a thousand, and even twelve hundred yards. To this long-range-grape, as we may call it, the French had no means of replying, and they were both puzzled and disconcerted by it. No one really has yet attempted to calculate the degree to which Shrapnel contributed to our final victory over the French. It was claimed that his shell tided Wellington over a very critical moment of the battle of Waterloo, and this is very likely to be true. Waterloo was fought on the day following a very heavy thunderstorm, when the sky was overcast and the clouds, not quite wrung dry, were dropping little showers at one point or another of the field from dawn almost till sunset. Wellington wore a cape all day. There must,

then, have been difficulty in priming the muskets, and more than the usual average of miss-fires. We may guess how welcome must have been shrapnel-shell in shaking and delaying French columns which were massing for attack nearly three-quarters of a mile away. We may guess also the trials of the flank-companies of the Guards in the defence of Hougomont.

The flintlock, as has been told, made way for the percussion-cap in 1839, and the proportion of miss-fires fell from forty to fewer than ten per cent. Moreover, when next the Coldstream went into action they carried not a musket but a rifle, the Minié, a muzzle-loader indeed, but throwing a heavy, smashing bullet which, as at Inkerman, would pierce clean through one man and kill another standing behind him. The old training, which had served so well at Fontenoy, was still efficient both for fine discipline and for deadliness of fire a century later. But this was the last flicker of an expiring flame. Breech-loading rifles succeeded the Minié, and the problem of maintaining a continuous fire was thereby solved. Breech-loading rifled cannon came in almost simultaneously. The first machine-guns were seen in the Franco-German War of 1870; and since then the range, accuracy, rapidity, and volume of fire in missile weapons have advanced by bounds so gigantic that, if we reckon, as we surely may, a bomb-dropping aeroplane as a missile weapon, we can assign no limit to their powers of destruction.

Through all these vicissitudes have the Coldstream lived and upheld their great name since they first fought under the command of Oliver Cromwell. To one who is verging on old age it is some consolation, even though he be merely a civilian, to have seen the changes of the last fifty years. It

is something to have seen a battalion of the old long-service Coldstreamers at drill in Hyde Park, and to recall the vision of the tall and profusely whiskered men moving like clockwork. It is a Coldstreamer, George Whyte-Melville, who in *Digby Grand* has described for us his battalion marching past the old Duke of Wellington, and has preserved for us the old preliminary word of command, 'Lock up, the rear rank'. Yet the rear rank continued to 'lock-up' for thirty years after the old Duke died; and a march past was a wonderful sight to see. The Martini-Henry rifle with its long bayonet was 'shouldered' almost at right angles to the ground, being balanced in the left hand nearly at the full length of the arm; and the companies strode past like white-jacketed walls topped with a high fence of steel, the rear ranks' chests almost touching the front ranks' backs. It was a foolish relic of bygone days, perhaps, which should not have lasted so long; and yet, it was no mean test of discipline. It is something, too, to have seen three battalions of the Guards go through the manual exercise like one man, and to have heard the old Duke of Cambridge's gruff comment, 'Very well'. And, to turn to more serious matters, it is something to have heard from one who, as a subaltern, was in the Guards' Club on the night of Inkerman, of the mourning over the eleven officers of the Coldstream who had fallen in the fight. It is something to have seen the remnant of the Guards' Camel Corps parade before Wellington Barracks on their return from the Soudan, and to have marked how they presented arms as smartly as if they were relieving guard. It is something to have seen more recently the first batch of conscribed recruits in the barrack-yard at Windsor, good

Coldstreamers already, though only a week old. It is something, and a very bitter memory, to have heard the roll of the drums, as draft after draft marched down to the station at Windsor, to embark for France and for the most part to return no more. It is something (if the egoism may be forgiven me) to have been privileged to tell to young officers and non-commissioned officers of the Coldstream the great story of their regiment before they in their turn embarked for France to uphold its honour. It is something, and a very distressing memory, to picture again the melancholy aspect of Windsor in September, 1916, when the news came in that the three battalions of the Coldstream had led the attack of their division on the Somme. It is on record that Oliver Cromwell once addressed a meeting of officers in Windsor Castle. Possibly his shade was hovering near to listen to the doings of the one surviving regiment of his army, and to assure himself and his trusted lieutenant, George Monck, that after wellnigh three centuries it is still and unchangeably Second to None.

NOTE ON AUTHORITIES

THE difficulties encountered in writing the early history of the Coldstream Guards may be briefly stated: there are no regimental records at all; no diary nor private letter of any member of the Regiment has been found; Monck was the most taciturn of men, whose official communications contain perhaps half a dozen references to his Regiment; and the general military records of the period are defective and scattered. In these circumstances it would have been useless to attempt this history but for the preservation in Worcester College, Oxford, of the bulk of the papers of Sir William Clarke, assistant-secretary to the Army Council in England until 1650, and secretary to the successive Commanders-in-Chief in Scotland from 1651 to 1660. Sir Charles Firth edited four volumes of these papers for the Royal Historical Society (1891–1901), and two more for the Scottish History Society (1895, 1899). The former, *The Clarke Papers*, contain accounts of the debates in the Army Council, upon which I have based my narrative of events in 1647 (vol. I), miscellaneous newsletters and other documents (vols. II and III), and correspondence illustrating the quarrels first between the army and the successive civilian governments in England, and then between the armies in England and Scotland in 1659 (vols. III and IV). The other two books, *Scotland and the Commonwealth* and *Scotland and the Protectorate*,

contain the correspondence of English officers and others in Scotland during the years 1651–59. I edited for the *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, volume III, the accounts of proceedings of courts martial at Dundee in 1651. These volumes, however, include only a selection from the papers of Sir William Clarke, and those which remain unprinted have been freely utilized. In particular, the order-books of Lilburne and Monck, successive Commanders-in-Chief in Scotland, have furnished much information of a miscellaneous character. References to these and other manuscript sources are given in the footnotes, and in Appendixes III, IV, and V.

It is unnecessary to enumerate here all the printed authorities consulted, but a brief description of the most important may be useful. For the campaigns of the New Model Army in 1645 and 1646, the account in Joshua Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva* is easily the best. Sprigge was chaplain to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Commander-in-Chief in England, and compiled his work, originally published in 1647, from various contemporary narratives. The main sources for the disputes between the Army and Parliament in 1647 are the *Journals* of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords; John Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, of which the fourth part was published in 1701 in two volumes, here styled VII and VIII; and *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, 24 volumes, 1751–62, generally called the *Old Parliamentary History* to distinguish it from William Cobbett's *Parliamentary History of England.*

Cromwell's dispatches on his campaigns in 1648 and 1650–51 are printed in Thomas Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, edited by Mrs. S. C. Lomas in 1904. Pamphlets relating to the war in Wales in 1648

are reprinted in the second volume of J. Roland Phillips's *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales*, 1874: others referring to Cromwell's Scotch campaigns are appended to *Original Memoirs written during the Great Civil War* (here called Hodgson's *Memoirs*), 1806, and in Professor C. Sanford Terry's *Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie, first Earl of Leven*, 1899. Some of Monck's letters in 1651 are printed from the originals among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library in the second volume of Henry Cary's *Memorials of the Civil War in England*, 1842. His official correspondence with the Secretary of State is in the *Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (commonly known as *Thurloe State Papers*), 7 volumes, 1742.

There are three authorities of great value for Monck's actions in the year preceding the Restoration. The first is Edward Phillips's continuation of Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, which is based on the lost papers of Sir Thomas Clarges, Monck's brother-in-law and trusted agent (sixth edition, 1674); the second is *The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's Happy Restauration*, by John Price, chaplain to Monck's Regiment of Foot (here quoted from the reprint in Francis Maseres' *Select Tracts*, 1815); and the third is *The Life of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle* (1671), by Thomas Gumble, his chaplain.

Of modern histories, I have made great use of the late S. R. Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War* and *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (4 volumes each, in the 8vo edition), and the continuation by Sir Charles Firth in *The Last Years of the Protectorate* (2 volumes, 1909). These works cover the period from the outbreak of the Civil War in August 1642 to the death of Oliver Cromwell in September 1658, and furnish an invaluable guide, not only

to the history of the time, but also to the authorities. There is no similarly detailed history available of the period from September 1658 to May 1660. Guizot's *Richard Cromwell and the Restoration* and his *Life of Monck* (both translated from the French by A. R. Scoble) narrate the main events clearly, but rely upon the more obvious printed sources, with the exception of the dispatches of Bordeaux, the French ambassador in London, from which copious extracts are given in the appendixes to both works. Another work from which I have derived much information is Sir Charles Firth's *Cromwell's Army* (third edition, 1921). References to other authorities are to be found in the foot-notes, where the date of the edition used is given the first time the work is mentioned. When a pamphlet is quoted, a reference to the Thomason Tracts in the British Museum is supplied if it is there (unless it is reprinted), although often I have used other copies. Many of the pamphlets published at Edinburgh never reached Thomason, and are now only available in the magnificent collection formed by Sir William Clarke, and given by his son to Worcester College.

It has been impossible for me to observe any uniformity in quoting my authorities, for the methods of editors are of infinite variety. Sometimes documents are abbreviated in a calendar, and sometimes reproduced *in extenso* with modern punctuation, use of capitals, and spelling, or with the original spelling and modern punctuation. However, the quotation from *Mercurius Publicus* (pp. 111–12) and the reprint of the pamphlets in Appendix VI supply unaltered specimens of seventeenth-century printing, as Appendix VIII does of contemporary punctuation and spelling.

It remains for me to express my profound gratitude

to all who have helped me while I have been engaged on this book. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey permitted Monck's armour in their custody to be taken down from its stand so that it could be photographed. Mr. J. G. Mann, Assistant-Keeper in the Department of Fine Art in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, undertook to superintend the photographing of Monck's armour, and gave advice in connexion with other illustrations. The authorities at the Tower furnished every assistance in equipping the pikemen and musketeers with contemporary weapons and accessories. The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College allowed me ready access to the manuscripts and pamphlets there. Brigadier-General H. W. Studd, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Lieut.-Colonel Commanding Coldstream Guards 1919–23, consented to write the preface, and to read both my manuscript and proof-sheets. Colonel J. V. Campbell, V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.D.C., Lieut.-Colonel Commanding Coldstream Guards from 1923; Captain the Viscount Marsham, Regimental Adjutant; and Captain R. V. Martyn have afforded me every facility for completing *The Early History*, and for securing illustrations for it.

Mr. C. H. Wilkinson, Dean, Fellow and Librarian of Worcester College, has helped me in too many ways for me to enumerate them all. He has brought to my notice many pamphlets from among those in his official charge which I should otherwise have overlooked, corrected my proof-sheets, made many suggestions both as to the arrangement and contents of this volume, and has displayed a constant interest in my work at every stage. Sir Charles Firth, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, has taught me whatever I know of

historical method and bibliography. He originally supplied lists of the chief officers in the regiments from which Monck's Regiment of Foot was drawn, and thus furnished the essential preliminary to my own researches. He has also allowed me to consult him whenever I was in difficulties, and has throughout advised me, particularly with regard to the amount of general history to be included in the text.

For all these obligations my best thanks are due.

G. DAVIES.

II. GEORGE MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

From a portrait in the possession of
Sir Arthur Hazlerigg

I

THE NEW MODEL AND THE FIRST CIVIL WAR

THE Coldstream Guards, taken into the service of Charles II in 1661, were originally known as Monck's Regiment of Foot, which had been raised in 1650 by joining five companies from each of two existing regiments. These two regiments of Hesilrige and Fenwick[1] had, under other colonels, been part of the New Model army of 1645. The natural starting-point for the early history of the Coldstream Guards is thus the formation of the New Model, which in itself marked a definite stage in the evolution of the British Standing Army.

For the first two years of the Civil War armies had been raised locally, and had displayed great reluctance to serve far afield for more than a month or two. The nucleus had been provided by the county militia, whose cherished privilege it was not to march beyond the boundaries of their shire. Additional forces had been obtained from volunteers or pressed men, but the former often only offered their services for a specific object, and expected to be disbanded when this had been accomplished, while the latter frequently seized the first opportunity to desert. Usually it was not difficult to find an army for

[1] Regiments during the Civil War were always called by the name of their colonels. Thus for one regiment the colonels were successively Weldon, Lilburne, Hesilrige, and for the other Lloyd, Herbert, Overton, Fenwick.

a single operation, but once that had been performed, the forces gradually melted away, and the fruit of victory could not be gathered. Much hard fighting took place in 1642–4, and many battles were won by either side, but there were few successful campaigns. Strategy was generally subordinated to local exigencies, and the pursuit of a defeated enemy abandoned in favour of the siege of some stronghold of no great national importance, merely to satisfy the demands of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, whence the bulk of the victorious army might be drawn. A brief survey of the Civil War in 1642–4 illustrates the indecisive nature of the campaigns.

In 1642 the drawn battle of Edgehill (23 October) was followed by Charles's capture of Oxford and his march on London, but he was unable to face the Parliamentary army on Turnham Green, and retired to Oxford, which became his head-quarters for the rest of the war. In 1643 the struggle raged all over England, and the balance of success lay with the King. The Fairfaxes were defeated by Newcastle on 30 June, and all Yorkshire was lost to the Parliament except Hull; Sir William Waller's army was dispersed at Roundway Down on 13 July, and the Royalists overran the west of England except for a few seaports. Charles now reached the apex of his success, but was unable to profit by the occasion. The Cornishmen insisted on returning to besiege Plymouth, and Newcastle refused to march south and leave Hull untaken in his rear. The King, therefore, was obliged to abandon his plan for a threefold attack on London, and decided to lay siege to Gloucester. The unexpected resistance he encountered, and the approach of Essex with the

trained bands of London, compelled him to desist. At Newbury he barred the way for Essex's return to the capital, but after a confused and indecisive battle on 20 September, he had to withdraw and leave open the route to London.

Both sides now began to seek allies. After a truce had been made with the Irish rebels, called the Cessation, Charles hoped to use the army hitherto employed against them, but the only considerable force which crossed the Irish Channel was routed and dispersed at Nantwich on 25 January 1644. The Parliamentarians secured more potent aid when they negotiated the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scottish Presbyterians in August and September 1643, in pursuance of which Leven led an army across the Tweed in January 1644. The Scots joined with the Yorkshire levies under the Fairfaxes, and the army of the Eastern Association commanded by Manchester, under whom Oliver Cromwell served. The union led to the great victory at Marston Moor on 2 July over the Royalists under Newcastle and Rupert. This triumph meant that the Royalist cause in the north of England was ruined, but might have been more decisive still if the three armies that gained it had not immediately separated to pursue local objectives.[1] As it happened Charles was able to redress the balance to some extent by his campaign in the south. Indifferent co-operation between Essex and Waller enabled the King to evade a battle so long as they acted in concert against him round Oxford. When they separated he inflicted a check upon Waller at Cropredy Bridge on 29 June 1644, and then

[1] York soon fell, but Fairfax remained to subdue other Royalist strongholds, while the Scots retraced their steps to besiege Newcastle-on-Tyne.

marched in pursuit of Essex, who had gone to relieve some Parliamentary garrisons in the west. Charles came up with Essex at Lostwithiel and forced his foot to surrender, although his horse broke through the encircling Royalists and escaped. Charles then returned and fought another drawn battle at Newbury on 27 October against Manchester and Waller, with whom were the remnants of Essex's forces.

What with the general unwillingness to endure military discipline for a prolonged period, and the undue importance attached to local interests, the war after more than two years strenuous conflict seemed little nearer any definite conclusion than at its commencement. The evils of the system hitherto adopted may be illustrated by a letter of the Parliamentarian, Sir William Waller, dated a few days after the battle of Cropredy Bridge:

'During these last two days march I was extremely plagued by the mutinies of the city brigade who are grown to that height of disorder, that I have no hope to retain them, being come to their old song of "home, home". The Major-General [Browne] met me here [Towcester], and has quartered his forces within three miles of mine. I find his men [in] no very good temper, some of his Essex soldiers threatening already to quit him, and the Hertfordshire men expressing their impatient suffering during a night or two's ill-quartering. My lords, I write these particularities to let you know that an army compounded of these men will never go through with their service, and till you have an army merely your own that you may command, it is in a manner impossible to do anything of importance.'[1]

[1] To the Committee of Both Kingdoms, 2 July, *Calendar of State Papers Dom.* 1644, pp. 300–1. Cf. *Vindication of Sir William Waller*, Written by Himself, ed. 1793, p. 17.

This suggestion for the reorganization of the Parliamentary forces was taken up by Cromwell at the end of the year, and resulted in the establishment of the New Model army. By the scheme now adopted the three armies of Essex, Manchester, and Waller were to coalesce into one to be commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and to contain eleven regiments of horse, a thousand dragoons, and twelve regiments of foot of 1,200 men apiece—in all 22,000 soldiers.[1]

Two of these twelve infantry regiments are the direct ancestors of the Coldstream Guards—Weldon's and Lloyd's. The officers of Weldon's regiment were, with few exceptions, taken *en bloc* from his old regiment, often called the Kentish Regiment,[2] which had been raised at the beginning of 1644, and which had served under Waller during that year. From this source came the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and four of seven captains.[3] It is possible that the remaining three captains may have been promoted lieutenants. Be this as it may, it is certain that Weldon's was more homogeneous in its origin than most of the regiments in the New Model.

The second regiment, commanded by Colonel Walter Lloyd, was composed of mixed elements. The colonel had belonged to Aldrich's regiment in Essex's army, and had especially distinguished himself at the second battle of Newbury.[4] The lieutenant-colonel is probably identical

[1] The wastage in armies at this time is revealed by the fact that half the New Model consisted of pressed men, though the three armies mentioned had a nominal strength of at least 30,000.

[2] See Appendix I for the history of the Kentish regiment.

[3] Ralph Weldon, Nicholas Kempson, William Master, Christopher Peckham, Nicholas Fenton, Francis Dormer (or Dorman), and John Francklin. The names of the other three are: Jeremiah Tolhurst, — Munday, and — Kaine.

[4] Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, 31; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vi.

with the James Gray who was a captain in Sir William Constable's regiment in 1642. The major, Thomas Reade, and a captain, Benjamin Wigfall, had both belonged to Holborne's in 1643. Captain Wilkes had apparently held the same rank in his colonel's old regiment. Two other captains, John Melvin and John Spooner, had been lieutenants in 1642 in Robartes's. The previous history of the remaining captains, Gettins, Richard Lundy, and Nathaniel Short, is unknown. Thus so far as can be discovered Lloyd's was formed from the remnants of Essex's army, and was more heterogeneous than Weldon's.

Before accompanying this reorganized force on its first campaign it is well to pause and discuss its character. According to a Scotch Presbyterian, Robert Baillie, the 'new modelled armie consists, for the most of raw inexperienced, pressed sojours. Few of the officers are thought capable of their places, many of them are sectaries, or their confident friends: if they doe great service, many will be deceived'. A few days later he speaks of 'lustie, well-armed and well-payed men; yet without officers of experience'.[1] The first part of this criticism is undoubtedly correct, particularly as regards the foot. The remnants of the armies of Essex, Manchester, and Waller could only supply about 7,000 infantrymen, so orders were given to press another 8,500. Inexperienced these pressed men must have been if the practice in London was at all general, for there young men are said to have been seized in the streets and forcibly enrolled.[2] These

671, 722. Lloyd had been successively captain, major (by July 1643), and lieutenant-colonel in Aldrich's regiment, which was originally Lord Saye and Sele's, and which was commanded at Edgehill by Sir John Meldrum.

[1] Baillie's *Letters*, 1841–2, ii. 264–5, 286.

[2] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, 8vo. ed., ii. 193, quoting the French ambassador Sabran.

conscripts naturally had little enthusiasm for the cause they were compelled to support, and desertion took place on a large scale until the prestige won by the army made men proud to belong to it,[1] and until pay, which became regular, held out the inducements of a welcome career. Generally speaking, there are few signs among the rank and file of any religious enthusiasm, unless eagerness to destroy the houses of Papists be so interpreted.

Baillie's complaint that the officers were inexperienced is hardly justified; certainly it could not fairly be applied to the two regiments under discussion, except in the sense that their experience of warfare was confined to England. None had fought either in the Dutch service or in the Thirty Years War—the two great nurseries of soldiers at this time.[2] As Sprigge remarks:

'The officers of this army . . . are such as knew little more of war than our own unhappy wars had taught them . . . indeed, I may say this, they were better Christians than soldiers, and wiser in faith than in fighting . . . and yet I think they were as wise in the way of soldiers as the little time and experience they had could make them.'[3]

As to their being 'Sectaries' or 'Independents',[4] there

[1] Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, ed. 1921, pp. 36–7. Cf. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 1696, p. 53: 'For the greatest part of the common soldiers, especially of the foot, were ignorant men, of little religion, abundance of them such as had been taken prisoners . . . and these would do anything to please their officers, and were ready instruments for the seducers especially in their great work, which was to cry down the covenant, to vilify all parish ministers, but especially the Scots and Presbyterians: for the most of the soldiers that I spoke with never took the Covenant, because it tied them to defend the King's Person, and to exterpate heresie and schism.'

[2] For the influence of the tactics of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, upon the New Model, see *Cromwell's Army*, *passim*, especially pp. 95–8.

[3] *Anglia Rediviva*, ed. 1854, p. 325.

[4] Forerunners of the Congregationalists. Many ephemeral sects were also included in this comprehensive designation.

were at this time few officers in Lloyd's regiment who were not moderate Presbyterians as events in 1647 were to prove, and this also is true to a less extent of Weldon's. They were plain gentlemen or citizens, fighting for Puritanism and Parliament against Arminianism[1] and Absolutism. As yet they included no military politicians of the type of Lilburne—'free-born John' as he was called, and no religious fanatics who, like Harrison, believed that the Fifth Monarchy[2] or rule of the saints was at hand. All presumably had taken the Solemn League and Covenant, by which they were pledged to promote the reformation of the Church of England according to the example of the best reformed churches, and to the word of God.[3] Probably to most of them this meant the reorganization of the Anglican Church on a Presbyterian basis without any toleration for other ecclesiastical systems. Politically they wanted to substitute a limited monarchy for the despotism they had endured during the eleven years which preceded the meeting of the Long Parliament. Many may still have believed that the King was misled by evil councillors; few at this stage at least shared the views of Whalley's horsemen, of whom Baxter says:

'I perceived they took the King for a tyrant and an enemy, and really intended to master him or to ruin him. . . . They plainly showed me that they thought God's

[1] So styled after Jacob Arminius, a professor at Leyden. At this time the term was applied to the system of Church Government associated with the name of Archbishop Laud—what is known as Anglo-Catholicism to-day.

[2] A Fifth Monarchy man wished to establish a theocratic Republic, and believed that the reign of Christ, the fifth universal monarchy, was about to begin in a literal as well as figurative sense. The Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman monarchies were the first four.

[3] Gardiner, i. 229–31; ii. 194–5.

providence would cast the trust of religion and the kingdom upon them as conquerors.'[1]

Extreme opinions of this kind were now mainly confined to the regiments drawn from the former army of the Eastern Association, and found little favour in the moderate regiments such as those commanded by Lloyd and Weldon. Though these fundamental differences about both the political and religious objects of the war were to be the causes of bitter animosities in the future, they were concealed in the spring of 1645. Then extremists and moderates, Presbyterians and Independents, were united by their conviction that the war could only be terminated by their complete triumph. And the army which was to secure this complete triumph assembled at its rendezvous at Windsor at the end of April.

On 30 April Fairfax set out for the west to relieve Taunton, now closely besieged by the Royalists, but heroically defended by Robert Blake. On the way the new Commander-in-Chief made it evident to all that the indiscipline of the old armies would no longer be tolerated. At Andover a mutineer and a deserter were hanged on a tree by the highway, *in terrorem*, and a proclamation was issued that plundering would be punished by death. 'Which hath caused so much good order in our march,' commented a captain of foot, 'that to my best inquiry I have not heard of any man to complain to loose an ox, sheep, lamb, hen, no, nor an egg, save in our hard march, hot dayes, vacancy of towns or houses, over the plain, made them inordinately desire drink, or covet for water in the villages we past.'[2] From Andover

[1] *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 51.

[2] *A Narration of the Expedition to Taunton*, 30 April to 18 May 1645, sent by

Fairfax marched to Blandford, where he received orders from the Committee of Both Kingdoms to return eastwards with half his army, and to detach the four foot regiments of Weldon, Lloyd, Fortescue, and Ingoldsby, with the horse of Graves and Sheffield, to the relief of Taunton.[1] On 8 May the two portions of the New Model army went their several ways with 'sad salutes and watery eyes, like the parting of husbands from their wives'.[2] Weldon 'as eldest colonell, a gallant, wise and brave gentleman', commanded the brigade, which contained about 1,500 or 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot.

'I never beheld men of all sorts', wrote one of them, 'of more promising courage [and] resolution. All as one man sweetly combined against the common enemies of mankinde, such love amongst themselves, horse and foot. One passage I will relate though I hate prolixitie. A brave, gallant fellow, but a common souldier, cries out to the horse as they marcht by: "O brave horse, go on, shew them no more mercy then to a louse. Remember Cornwall."[3] To whom a brave captain of the Plimmouth troop replied, "O fellow souldier, let us remember our God, and not fight in malice, but do his work, and leave

a commander in the army. Thomason Tracts, E. 285 (10). Since this pamphlet especially mentions Kent on two occasions it may well have been written by one of Weldon's officers.

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1644–5, p. 459; Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, pp. 18–19; *A Narration of the Expedition to Taunton.*

[2] Apparently the soldiers realized more clearly than the members of the Committee the dangers of dividing the army. It is true that the Committee received a kind of *ex post facto* justification from Naseby, but if Cromwell had not joined Fairfax on the eve of the battle, the result might well have been a defeat instead of a decisive victory. In that case the position of Weldon's brigade would have been precarious.

[3] After the surrender of Essex's foot at Lostwithiel, they were plundered contrary to the articles of capitulation. Probably the common soldier mentioned in the text was a survivor of Aldrich's regiment, which was at Lostwithiel, and from which Lloyd's was partly made up in the spring of 1645.

the successe to him, and you shall see, through God's mercy, we will stand close to you, O you gallant foot.'[1]

The good fellowship prevailing in this brigade can be attributed to the example set by the officers, who, to encourage their men ill-provided with shoes, marched at their head on foot. Thus animated, the brigade proceeded without stop or stay until they came within a day's march of Taunton, when the Royalists, after a last desperate effort to storm the town, sullenly retreated after some slight skirmishes. Then the relieving force enjoyed their first day's rest since they began their journey westwards.[2]

Although this first success had been gained without fighting, it had important results. The sight of the destruction wrought by the undisciplined Royalists did much to advance the political education of the army, as the following passages prove:

'Such devastation of houses, nay depopulations in many places, and [in] those fields, pastures, plaine formerly beautiful and inricht with flocks and herds, you may passe ten miles and scarce discern anything: rich pastures but no cattle left to eat them. You would suppose the great Turk his Janisaries and armies, rather than their native prince his souldier[s] had been there. Who would think that a King . . . should now lay all desolate where he hath any footing. . . . Let them palliat the prince, and tell him, he is to give an account to none but God, yet sure that will be found an hard reckoninge at last. A sad maxime, that no way so sure to settle the King in his throne, as to pave its way throw the blood and ruine of

[1] *A Narration of the Expedition to Taunton.*

[2] Weldon's dispatch, dated 11 May, from Pitminster, is printed in *Two Letters.* Thomason Tracts, E. 284 (9). Cf. *A great Victorie obtained against the enemy, at the raising of the siege from before Taunton.* *Ibid.* E. 284 (11).

his people and kingdom. We have heard of three or four kings, in four or five years, and yet the kingdom to flourish, but we never heard that one King should destroy two or three kingdoms, rather than suffer the least affront, or the least twing of the foothack [? forelock], and cursed be those councils of the rabbies in Oxford, and divels of Rome, who so perswade. If this be regall government, I know not what to call tyranny. . . . If the King should miscarry (which we abhor to think or desire) yet we may have many kings hereafter. But if these kingdoms perish, what is monarchy without majestie and what majesty can be upheld with beggary, misery and slavery. . . . In brief, the poor people come from all parts, rejoycing, praising God, and thanking us for delivering them from those beasts of prey, who before this time, had no trade, market, or commerce or society with each other. . . . O if Kent did know their happiness, they would not be so mad to purchase such misery, at so dear a rate: however they blesse themselves with hopes of their king, these poor souls have found they have king enough.'[1]

Soon, however, Weldon's brigade had to endure as well as contemplate privation, for it was now itself blockaded in Taunton by a new force of cavalry Goring had brought from the King, as well as by the former besiegers—in all about 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse.[2] There Weldon remained until relieved by Fairfax at the beginning of July, a fortnight after the decisive victory at Naseby. The contemporary historian of the New Model mentions that 'the valour, diligence and fidelity of Colonel Weldon,

[1] *A Narration of the Expedition to Taunton.* The Royalist Clarendon is equally severe in his strictures on the indiscriminate plundering of Charles's forces in the West. *History of the Rebellion*, ed. 1888, Bk. IX. The reference in the last sentence of the above quotation is to the mutiny in Kent in April. Gardiner, ii. 193–4.

[2] Clarendon, Bk. IX, § 46.

with the rest of those commanders engaged with him in the defence of that besieged place, deserves to be expressed at large; but for want of a relation of their proceedings during that siege, I must content myself only to mention their service with honour'.[1] A modern writer unfortunately cannot remedy this lack of evidence,[2] but there is little doubt that the beleaguered force was in desperate straits for food and ammunition, and had suffered many casualties. Among the dead was Colonel Walter Lloyd, 'a faithful experienced soldier', who was succeeded by William Herbert.

Fairfax wasted no time at Taunton, but at once marched in pursuit of Goring's army, which he found strongly posted in front of Langport, on a hill sloping down to a marshy valley through which runs a tributary of the Yeo. The only means of approach was a narrow lane giving on to a ford, and terminating in a steep incline, with hedges lined by hostile musketeers. The position was a strong one,[3] and might have proved impregnable but for the fact that Goring had sent all his artillery except two guns to Bridgwater. Fairfax therefore began the battle with a lengthy cannonade, which soon silenced the opposing guns and forced Goring's horse to withdraw from the brow of the hill. Then a picked body of musketeers advanced across the ford, and drove the enemy from hedge to hedge until they had cleared a passage for the horse. The forlorn hope of horse led by Bethell,

[1] Sprigge, pp. 67–8.

[2] *A Letter sent to the Right Honourable William Lenthall, concerning the raising of the siege of Taunton* (Thomason Tracts, E. 292 (22)), deals solely with the relieving army. There are a few vague statements about the siege in the newspapers, whence Whitelocke copied them, *Memorials*, ed. 1853, i. 446, 451, 460.

[3] Map in Gardiner, ii. 268.

with Desborough in reserve, charged up the hill. Then ensued one of the most astonishing feats performed by the New Model army, for these 700 horsemen, with the aid of the musketeers who followed them closely, routed Goring's army. A relentless pursuit led by Cromwell in person followed, and only ended two miles from Bridgwater.

This town is cut into two by the Parret, so Fairfax divided his army, himself facing the eastern side, and Massey with a force including both Weldon's and Herbert's regiments taking up his stations on the west. After Fairfax had stormed the eastern part of the town, the Governor surrendered, and Massey did little beyond making a feint assault to facilitate the main attack. The next objective was Bristol, now garrisoned by Rupert. Here Weldon's brigade was stationed on the southern or Somerset side of the city, and in front of Redcliff.[1] After some preliminary fighting, during which Weldon captured the fort at Portshead Point and thus enabled the Parliamentary ships to enter King's Road, Fairfax determined to storm the city. The very detailed orders given on this occasion are worth quoting in full because they illustrate clearly the methods of attack then in vogue.

'Colonel Weldon with his brigade, consisting of the four regiments that were at Taunton (viz. his own, Colonel Ingoldsby's, Colonel Fortescue's, and Colonel Herbert's regiments, whose posts were to make good Somersetshire side) was ordered to storm in three places, viz. two hundred men in the middle, two hundred on each side, as forlorn hopes, to begin the storm; twenty ladders to each place,

[1] Plans in Gardiner, ii. 315, and in Markham's *The Great Lord Fairfax*, 1870, p. 240.

two men to carry each ladder, and to have 5*s.* apiece; two sergeants, that attended the service of the ladder to have 20*s.* a man; each musketeer that followed the ladder to carry a fagot, a sergeant to command them, and to have the same reward; twelve files of men with firearms and pikes to follow the ladders to each place where the storm was to be; those to be commanded each by a captain and a lieutenant; the lieutenant to go before with five files, the captain to second him with the other seven files; the two hundred men that were appointed to second the storm to furnish each party of them twenty pioneers, who were to march in their rear; the two hundred men, each to be commanded by a field-officer, and the pioneers each by a sergeant (those pioneers were to throw down the line,[1] and make way for the horse), the party that was to make good the line, to possess the guns and turn them; a gentleman of the ordnance, gunners and matrosses[2] to enter with the parties; the drawbridge to be let down; two regiments and a half to storm in after the foot, if way were made.'[3]

The early morning of 10 September was selected for the assault, which was made with great bravery and determination. On the north the outer ring of fortifications was carried, but on the south Weldon was repulsed. The approach to the wall was difficult: when it was reached the ladders were too short. After 'doing what could be well looked for from men of honour', as Cromwell reported, they had to retire with the loss of 200 men.[4] Neverthe-

[1] i. e. the wall.

[2] Gunners' assistants.

[3] Sprigge, pp. 104–5. These directions were drawn up by a committee of the colonels.

[4] Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. 1904, i. 216; Sprigge, p. 118. It is noteworthy that when Rupert stormed Bristol in 1643, the attack of his Cornishmen on the south side was as unsuccessful as Weldon's two years later.

less, the success in other places determined the issue of the struggle, and the city surrendered the next day.

Fairfax now divided up his army into several brigades for the reduction of the remaining Royalist strongholds. One under Rainsborough was sent against Berkeley Castle, a place of great strength, and well manned. But the outworks and church were gallantly stormed by Herbert, who led his men and was shot through the hat without injury. The ease with which this initial success was gained so discouraged the garrison of the castle that they despaired of making further resistance, so the Governor surrendered forthwith. A Royalist confessed that he thought God was turned Roundhead, because the King's forces were uniformly beaten.[1]

Another division of Massey's horse and Weldon's brigade of foot marched against Tiverton. On 19 October the batteries were in position, and began to play against the works. A lucky shot cut the chain of the drawbridge—

'Whereupon the bridge fell down, and our men immediately without staying for orders, possessed themselves of the bridge and entered the works, and possessed the churchyard, which so terrified the enemy, that it made them quit their ordnance, and some of their posts and line, and instantly fled into the Church and castle; our men got over the rest of the bulwarks and line, and pursued the enemy into the Church and castle, where they cried out in a lamentable manner for quarter. Our soldiers crept in at the Church windows (they having made fast the doors) and made all within prisoners, plundered them, and stripped most of them to their shirts, yet gave them their lives. The Governor, who had

[1] Sprigge, p. 137.

formerly received a summons, but peremptorily refused to hearken to any treaty of surrender shut himself up into his chamber in the castle and hung out a white flag for a parley. But being now too late, it would not be hearkened to (such was the fury of the soldier) yet when they got into the castle, and came to the place where he was, they gave him fair quarter. There was much plunder found in the castle.'[1]

This practically finished the campaign in 1645, for at a Council of War it was decided to take up winter-quarters in order to straiten Exeter rather than to attempt any advance into Cornwall. The health of the army was impaired, and it was wearied out by its continuous marches. The men had worn out their shoes and stockings, and their clothes were in tatters. In these circumstances it is not surprising that they fell easy victims to a fever so malignant that at one time half of the foot were sick of it.[2] For the rest of the year the army were fully occupied with combating this new disease, and no military operations of any importance were undertaken. With the advent of 1646 conditions improved, and the conquest of the West was completed. The resistance offered was slight. Hopton in vain tried to instil some of his chivalry and courage into the remnants of the Royalist forces. He had, as Clarendon says, 'a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army . . . being only terrible in plunder and resolute in running away'.[3] With such resources Hopton could not long delay the inevitable end. On 16 February his disorderly army was easily driven from Torrington, and virtually disbanded. When the Prince of Wales had safely landed in the Scilly Isles, Hopton resolved to abandon the useless

[1] Sprigge, pp. 154–5.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 176.
[3] *History of the Rebellion*, Bk. IX, §§ 134–5.

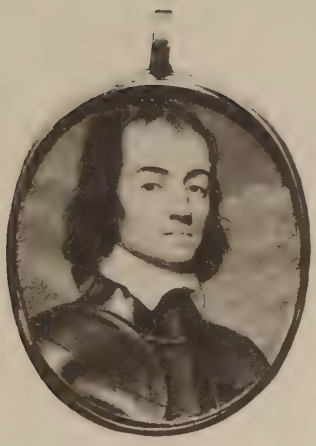
struggle, opened negotiations with Fairfax, and agreed to lay down his arms.[1] In the following month Exeter, Barnstaple, and other Royalist strongholds surrendered, and Fairfax sent his army against Oxford. There was no necessity, however, to press the siege, for at the beginning of May the King surrendered to the Scots, and Oxford capitulated six weeks later without ever having been seriously attacked.[2] For all practical purposes the first Civil War was at an end.

The casualties during this year's campaign had been severe. In Lloyd's regiment the colonel had lost his life at Taunton and had been replaced by William Herbert, who had formerly served in Kent. Lieutenant-Colonel Gray had given place to Thomas Reade, who was succeeded by John Wade (or Waade). Three captains perished, Wilkes at Taunton, Gettins in Gloucestershire, and Wigfall before Berkeley Castle. How these vacancies were filled is not apparent, but the lack of information is the less regrettable inasmuch as many changes were made in 1647. It may be added that an equal obscurity surrounds the actions of this regiment during the ensuing year, when it was probably employed in garrison duty.

So far the two regiments had acted together. After their separation Weldon's regiment had the more eventful history. Its colonel vacated his position after his appointment as Governor of Plymouth in October 1645. It was probably stationed in the West for a time after Fairfax had departed for Oxford, and was then sent into Yorkshire. There lack of pay and the contagion of evil company ruined its

[1] Gardiner, iii. 67–9. 14 March 1646.

[2] Herbert's regiment was at the siege of Oxford (Sprigge, pp. 258, 283), and of Raglan Castle in July 1646. Cary, *Memorials of the Civil War*, 1842, i. 131.



III. ROBERT LILBURNE, 1650

From the miniature by Samuel Cooper

at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington

discipline. According to a contemporary, 'much mischief is done by Vandruske and Weldon's men. They glory in stealing horses, and think it a small fault to kill both men and women; nor is robbery accounted any error amongst them; it is their hourly practice.'[1] The absence of a colonel may have been partly responsible for the disorderly conduct of the regiment late[2] Weldon's. If so, this was now remedied by the appointment of Colonel Robert Lilburne, the eldest brother of the more famous John the Leveller.[3] Robert, although not fully sharing John's zeal for liberty, was a strong politician and religious enthusiast, an Independent fiercely opposed to the claims of Presbyterianism to force its rigid ecclesiastical system on the whole country. Although not quite in the first class either as a soldier or as a politician, he played an important subordinate part both on the field of battle and in the bloodless strife between the Army and the Parliament in 1647. His influence did much to give his regiment its marked politico-religious character. For a time he must have found himself in uncongenial company, for his lieutenant-colonel, major, three captains, and his captain-lieutenant at least were almost certainly Presbyterians.[4] However, this was soon to be altered, for during its sojourn in Yorkshire the Regiment received an infusion of new blood from Robert Lilburne's former regiment of Arque-

[1] Cary, i. 82. As Vandruske (or Vanrosse) is frequently stated to have recruited his regiment from the Royalist garrison of Newark, it is likely that his soldiers rather than Weldon's were mainly responsible for the plundering.

[2] The contemporary expression, meaning lately commanded by.

[3] That is, one who wished to destroy all class distinctions, and to redistribute property.

[4] Kempson, Master, Peckham, Dormer, George Weldon (who succeeded Munday, slain in the West), and Robert Fish.

busiers, apparently first raised in Durham.[1] Thence came Henry Lilburne, who sided with the army in 1647, but turned Royalist the next year and was killed at Tynemouth Castle;[2] Abraham Holmes, a typical sectary, who eventually ended a long career of treason on the scaffold in 1685;[3] and Henry Goodyear.

[1] It was paid by Durham. The accounts of Henry Lilburne for this regiment are in Exchequer Papers, 138.

[2] *Clarke Papers*, i. 368.

[3] See his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

II

POLITICS AND THE SECOND CIVIL WAR

With the end of the first Civil War came the difficulties attending a pacification. There were four main problems to be solved: the position of the Monarchy in the constitution after the defeat of Absolutism and the terms to be granted to the adherents of Charles I, a prisoner at Holmby House in Northamptonshire after his surrender by the Scots in February 1647; the adoption of some ecclesiastical system in place of the existing chaos consequent upon the abolition of Episcopacy and the failure hitherto to provide any substitute; the reconquest of Ireland, where the English interest was almost extinguished; and the reduction of the armies which had won the day for Parliament. Ultimately all these problems received a temporary solution from the officers of the New Model army (and a few civilians associated with them), and not from the members of the two Houses of Parliament who still remained at Westminster.[1] These results, wholly unforeseen at the beginning of 1647, were due to the quarrels between Parliament and the Army which began over the question of disbandment and service in Ireland, and which soon embraced all the political, constitutional, and religious legacies of the Great Rebellion. These quarrels led to

[1] After the battle of Naseby, new elections to fill the vacancies caused by the expulsion of Royalists had been held, so the Commons represented adequately the Parliamentary elements in the country, but the membership of the Lords had shrunk to about a score.

the decisive intervention of the army in politics, to Pride's Purge of the House of Commons in 1648, to the abolition of Monarchy and the House of Lords in 1649, to the erection of a Commonwealth and its transformation into a Protectorate in 1653, to the anarchy which followed the destruction of the Protectorate in 1659, and to the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660. Practically speaking, England was under a military government from 1649 to 1660, and Independents tried to direct the religious affairs of the nation. Hatred of the rule of an army, at times thinly disguised under pseudo-constitutional forms, combined with hatred of Independency, produced the alliance between Parliamentarians and Royalists, between Presbyterians and Anglicans which made possible the return of Charles II to his father's throne. In the destruction of the Monarchy the two regiments whose history is here being traced played a rather subordinate part; in its restoration the Regiment formed from these two progenitors had a most prominent share. Regimental history is, therefore, inextricably bound up with national history, and is as much concerned with politics as with battles, with religious beliefs and constitutional experiments as with military campaigns and garrison duties. And the interval between the first and second Civil Wars produced the first clash between the soldiers and the Parliament in whose name and for whose authority they had fought.

In February and March the Presbyterian majority in Parliament produced its scheme for the reduction of the army and the subjugation of Ireland. By it 6,600 horse and dragoons, with no foot except in garrisons, were to form the establishment in England: 8,400 foot, 4,200 horse and dragoons, all to be drawn out of the army of

Fairfax, were to be sent to Ireland.[1] A little later votes were passed that Skippon was to be Commander-in-Chief of the forces destined for Ireland with Massey as lieutenant-general of horse, in place of Fairfax and Cromwell, under whom the New Model had hitherto marched to victory. In addition six weeks pay, subsequently increased to eight, was to be given the army, although its arrears amounted to eighteen weeks for the foot and forty-three for the horse.[2]

As soon as these votes became known the army began to grow restless, and two sections quickly emerged, those willing to accept these terms and those unwilling. At first it seemed as if the former would include most of the regiments of Lilburne and Herbert. The Parliamentary Commissioners for treating with officers to serve in Ireland reported that Herbert engaged himself, and gave assurance of engaging most of his officers and men, and that in Lilburne's regiment most of the officers of eight companies subscribed for Ireland, including Lieutenant-Colonel Kempson, who had drawn off 580 of the men to Evesham.[3] Nevertheless it soon became evident that the bulk of the army was not going to be equally submissive. A convention of officers was held at Saffron Walden on 21 March, and sought to learn what assurances of pay for service in Ireland, and what guarantees for arrears and security against any legal proceedings for acts done during the war, were to be given.[4] About the same

[1] Gardiner, iii. 217, 219.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 225, 232–3; *Commons' Journals*, v. 126.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, ix. 153. The list of officers volunteering for Ireland is in Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vii. 467.

[4] *Lords' Journals*, ix. 113; Appendix II. Among those present were Lilburne and Wade. Among the signatories of *The Declaration of the Armie as it was*

time a petition embodying similar demands to be presented to Fairfax, and by him submitted to Parliament, was circulated among the soldiers, and this gave the greatest dissatisfaction at Westminster. Lilburne and other senior officers were summoned to appear before the Commons, but were dismissed when they denied that they were responsible for the obnoxious petition, which the two Houses proceeded to denounce as dangerous, and tending to put the army into a mutiny.[1]

So far there was no mutiny, but much picketing of the volunteers for Ireland took place. Ensign James Rose, of George Weldon's company, reported that as his foot were passing some troopers they were greeted with shouts of 'Fellow soldiers, now stand all for your arrears'.[2] Ensign Francis Nicholls, of Major Dormer's company, openly urged his men not to engage for Ireland, and read the petition to them which had been prohibited by Parliament. For this conduct he was arrested, brought to Westminster, and committed, though subsequently released without punishment.[3] Lilburne himself discouraged his men from going to Ireland,[4] and his own company

lately presented at Saffron Walden (Thomason Tracts, E. 390 (26)) were Lieutenants Gabriel Earwood, Ethelbert Morgan, and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reade. Captains Henry Lilburne and Abraham Holmes, and Lieutenants John Topping, William Gouge [? Gough], and Ethelbert Morgan were among those who signed *A True and Perfect Copy of the Several Grievances of the Army* (Thomason Tracts, E. 390 (3)).

[1] *Commons' Journals*, v. 129, 132; *Lords' Journals*, ix. 114–15; *The Vindication of the Officers*, printed in Rushworth, vii. 469, where it is stated that the petition took its 'first rise' among the soldiers.

[2] *Lords' Journals*, ix. 156. It is important to notice how the material grievances of the army first stirred the common soldiers to action.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, v. 155, 175; *Lords' Journals*, ix. 154; *Clarke Papers*, i. 84; Rushworth, vii. 472, 484, 494, 508; Waller's *Vindication*, pp. 91–3.

[4] *Lords' Journals*, ix. 153–5.

flatly refused to obey their captain-lieutenant when he ordered them to march to Chester for embarkation.[1]

This example proved contagious. When the officers volunteering for Ireland came to lead forth their five companies, they found the rank and file 'very much incenst against their officers, holding jointly together not to goe [and] teareing the staffe and collours from Captaine Peckham'. Weldon's company soon repented of their compliance with Kempson's orders and returned again to their old quarters, while only sixty-one volunteers were forthcoming from the remaining companies.[2] As for Herbert's regiment, its colonel himself confessed that upon the first intention to send it into Ireland, officers and soldiers alike declared they would not stir unless they first received their full arrears. When the Parliamentary Commissioners ordered him to take his regiment to Chester, only one captain and a lieutenant or two were willing to march.[3]

For a time Parliament persevered. Herbert's regiment was described as 'all engaged already and marched to Cambden',[4] and a new list of officers was drawn up for it, in which those who had volunteered for Ireland were promoted, and those who had not were left out altogether.[5] Lilburne's regiment was ordered to be disbanded at Newmarket on 10 June, when it was apparently intended to form a new regiment out of the 'advancers for Ireland',

[1] *Lords' Journals*, ix. 154; *Clarke Papers*, i. 10–11.

[2] *Clarke Papers*, i. 13–14; Waller, p. 96.

[3] *Clarke Papers*, p. 13; Rushworth, vii. 460–1, 463.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, v. 183, 25 May.

[5] Rushworth, vii. 467; *Lords' Journals*, ix. 219, 343. Of the ten commanders of companies, seven were volunteers. I do not know the former status of the remaining three.

all of whom were retained while their opponents were omitted.[1] By this time the patience of the soldiers was becoming exhausted. A Council of War at Bury St. Edmunds drew up a strong remonstrance, in which they declared that the proceedings of Parliament 'may unhappily produce dangerous disturbances . . . especially amongst those regiments whose principal officers, by neglecting and deserting their soldiers in their necessary concernments or just grievances, have disobliged their soldiers, and lost their interest with them, in so much as such officers are in some sort forced to withdraw from their charges, and can scarce with safety come at them.[2] . . . Upon the same dissatisfactions and jealousies, we find an extreme earnestness and violent propensity amongst the soldiery to a general rendezvous.'[3] This expulsion of dissentient officers had important results, for they were replaced by extremists, who believed in 'state democracy' and 'church democracy',[4] and who thought they had received a divine mission to enforce their views on a reluctant nation. To this type belonged Robert Overton, who succeeded Herbert.

Another sign of the growth of democratic opinions in

[1] Cf. Rushworth, vii. 467; *Lords' Journals*, ix. 220, 343. All the new senior officers were volunteers.

[2] In many regiments the officers siding with Parliament had been disarmed and expelled. *Clarke Papers*, i. 112–13, 139–40; Rushworth vii. 556.

[3] 29 May. *Lords' Journals*, ix. 226–8. Cf. *To His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax. . . . The humble Petition of the Officers of the severall Regiments lately drawne off your Excellencies Army for the service in Ireland*, where complaints are made by Herbert, Melvin, Lundy, Kempson, and others of 'very high affronts offered unto us by some of your Excellencies army that . . . did draw away many of our soldiers, and have by false and scandalous suggestions and misinformation endeavoured to seduce, corrupt and draw away many more, as doth appeare by the late losse of five companies'.

[4] *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 53.

The manner of His Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Officers of His Armie sitting in COVNCELL.

IV. THE ARMY COUNCIL OF SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX

From a pamphlet in the Bodleian Library

the army was the appearance of agitators or agents, for the word meant nothing more in the seventeenth century. These agitators were first chosen by eight cavalry regiments, and at once began to organize resistance to the proposals to disband the army separately. In a circular letter, addressed to the soldiers lately under Herbert's command, they warn the foot that once disbanded they might be pressed for Ireland or hanged in England, for their enemies were already threatening to treat them like dogs. Let them stand united with their officers, and one with another, and refuse any orders to march away from the rest of the army, and their security was assured.[1] This exhortation was eagerly welcomed on all sides. At a general rendezvous near Newmarket officers and agitators subscribed a *Solemn Remonstrance*, in which they declared they would not disband nor divide until they had obtained such security as was pronounced sufficient by the general officers, with two commissioned officers and two soldiers to be chosen from each regiment.[2] Lilburne's regiment selected Captains Abraham Holmes and Richard Deane,[3] Overton's Captains William Knowles and Edward Orpin, with two soldiers in each case.[4]

At the beginning of June the army was in a strong position. All ranks were represented in the General Council of the Army, and Cromwell and other leaders, who had first held aloof, now threw in their lot with

[1] 19 May 1647. *Clarke Papers*, i. 87.

[2] Rushworth, vii. 510–12. Lilburne and Ensign Nicholls were present at the Council of War which decided to have a general rendezvous. *Clarke Papers*, i. 109–10.

[3] Cousin of his namesake the Admiral.

[4] Jacob Somers and Robert Linsey for Lilburne's, Richard Flower and Stephen Combe for Overton's. *Clarke Papers*, i. 436–7.

their comrades in arms. Cornet Joyce had seized the King and thereby prevented his removal to Scotland, whence he might have led an army to join with English Presbyterians, and disband forcibly the New Model.[1] A clear indication was now given that the Army meant to insist on a pacification of which it approved. 'We think we have as much right to demand, and desire to see a happy settlement, as we have to our money', the commanders of the army stated in a letter probably written by Cromwell himself.[2] *The Declaration of the Army* asserted, 'we were not a meer mercinary army, hired to serve any arbitrary power of a state, but called forth and conjured by the several declarations of Parliament, to the defence of our own and the people's just rights and liberties'.[3]

This *Declaration* was promptly followed up by a charge presented in the name of the army against eleven members of the House of Commons, that they had obstructed the reconquest of Ireland, acted against the army, invaded the laws and liberties of the subject, and hindered justice.[4] The members timidly withdrew. The military leaders now turned to Charles in the hope of finding 'in the authority of the King that basis of a reasonable constitutional settlement which they had failed to obtain from Parliament'.[5]

Their scheme, called *The Heads of the Proposals*, pro-

[1] Gardiner, iii. 259–60, 266–74.

[2] Rushworth, vii. 554–5; Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. 1904, i. 266–8. Lilburne was one of the signatories.

[3] 14 June. Rushworth, vii. 564–70. Cf. Gardiner, iii. 293, where it is truly stated that this declaration represented 'the first deliberate attempt of the Army to set forth a political programme'.

[4] *The Heads of a Charge.* Rushworth, vii. 570–1.

[5] Gardiner, iii. 308.

vided for religious toleration, biennial Parliaments with sessions of fixed length, a reform of the franchise, and the appointment of a Council of State which was, subject to Parliamentary approval, to control foreign policy and, for ten years, the armed forces of the nation. This plan of constitutional reform was not democratic enough for the agitators, who drew up another, *The Agreement of the People.*[1] These proposals proved abortive, but the debates in the General Council of the Army to which they gave rise are among the most curious recorded in history. Such a medley of crude democracy, logical radicalism, limited monarchy, and religious extravagance was never poured forth before or since. Although none of the future officers of Monck's regiment were among the prominent orators, these debates cannot be neglected, for in them is revealed, more clearly than elsewhere, the soul of the Cromwellian army. Since most of Monck's officers were fervent Anabaptists, it is probable that their views coincided with the utterances of William Goffe.[2] His speeches, listened to with approval, and even with reverence, could only have been delivered at a time when many believed that the Bible offered a safer guide to constitutional reform than the precedents of the past.

'Lett us shew the spiritt of Christians,' he urged, 'and lett us nott be ashamed to declare to all the world, that our councills, and our wisedome, and our wayes they are nott altogether such as the world hath walked in, but that wee have had a dependancie uppon God. . . . And I pray lett us consider this: God does seeme evidently to

[1] Both Lilburne's and Overton's regiments supported the *Proposalls from nine regiaments of horse and seven regiaments of foot for a Modell of an Agreement of the People.* 4 November 1647. Thomason Tracts, E. 412 (23).

[2] The well-known regicide, to be distinguished from William Gough, Monck's lieutenant-colonel.

bee throwing downe the glory of all flesh. The greatest powers in this kingdome have bin shaken. God hath throwne downe the glory of the kinge and that partie; he hath throwne downe a partie in the citty;[1] I doe nott say that God will throw us downe—I hope better thinges—but hee will have the glory. Lett us nott stand uppon our glory and reputation in the world. . . . I speake itt I hope from a divine impression.'

Goffe wound up by moving that before proceeding further a prayer-meeting should be held the next day, 'seriously to sett our selves to seeke the Lord', and his suggestion met with immediate acceptance.[2] At the gathering for calling on the Lord, Goffe gave full vent to the faith that was in him, and found in the Book of The Revelation his rule for action.

Comparing the ecclesiastical supremacy of the kings of England to the 'mystery of iniquity', Goffe argued that its destruction was promised in the last days, and was even now being accomplished. In this work Jesus Christ shall have a chosen company of saints to follow Him, and we have wielded the sword for Him for the last five or six years. As we would be called the chosen and faithful of the Lord, let us tremble at the thought that we may be opposing His work by our compliance with the party God hath engaged us to destroy. Let us beware lest our proposals set up that power[3] which He would not have erected again.

So far Goffe was merely voicing sentiments common to Fifth Monarchy men, but he differed from them in

[1] The London Presbyterians who supported the Parliamentary majority against the Army.

[2] *Clarke Papers*, i. 253–7.

[3] It is uncertain from the context whether Goffe here meant the ecclesiastical supremacy of the King or regal authority in general.

two fundamentals. In the first place he realized, like Cromwell, the supreme necessity for unity in the army. 'God hath called forth my spiritt to unity. What wee doe according to the will of God will not tend to division.' In the second place, he did not believe that the time was come to establish the rule of the saints by force of arms. The views of the ordinary Fifth Monarchy men are clearly expressed in the oft-quoted verse of one of their hymns:

> The Lord begins to honour us,
> The Saints are marching on;
> The sword is sharp, the arrows swift,
> To destroy Babylon.

On the other hand Goffe, like Cromwell, was content to be patient. 'Lett us nott now in a kinde of heate run uppe and say, "we will goe now",[1] because itt may bee there is a better opportunity that God will give us. . . . I desire wee may nott praecipitately run on, butt waite uppon God.'[2] Doubtless too, Goffe heartily approved of Cromwell's famous dictum that they should promote 'the generall good' of the people of England. 'That 's the question, what 's for their good, nott what pleases them.'[3]

Here those who cared more for what they considered to be the spiritual welfare of the people than for political liberties or forms of government were at direct issues with the Levellers. To their assertions that it was 'an undeniable maxim of government, that all government is in the free consent of the govern'd', and that 'all inhabitants that have not lost their birthright should

[1] Referring to Numbers xiv.

[2] *Clarke Papers*, i. 281–5, 374–5.

[3] *Ibid.*, i. 209.

have an equal voice in elections',[1] Cromwell replied that manhood suffrage meant anarchy, and had officers and agitators sent back to their respective regiments, and thus terminated the experiment of governing an army through a representative council.[2]

Some of the agitators, who had no intention of quietly submitting to their exclusion from political power, formed the design of seizing the King. Thanks to the influence of Captain-Lieutenant William Bray, Lilburne's regiment, described as the most mutinous in the army, expelled all its officers above the rank of lieutenant, disobeyed all orders, and appeared at a rendezvous at Ware with copies of the *Agreement of the People* stuck in their hats, with the motto, 'England's Freedom, Soldiers' Rights'.[3] They were, however, cowed by the bravery of one man. A Royalist newsletter described the scene. Cromwell 'perceiving Lilburne's regiment (which came thither without order) to appear in a mutinous manner with whites in their hats, he rid round the same, and coming to the head of the regiment drew his sword and charged so furiously through it, as the regiment (being much astonished therewith) pulled out their whites and craved mercy. Afterwards he wheeled about, and changing his

[1] *Clarke Papers*, i. 318–23. The speaker, Wildman, like Abraham Holmes, took part in the Rye House Plot, and promoted Monmouth's rebellion, though he did not share the dangers of that expedition.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 411–13. The agitators were becoming unpopular in the army: 'The common soldiers are much incensed against the adjutators, and are resolved to comply no longer with them, by reason of the great expense they are now at, as also the many obstructions that doth now arise.' *A New Declaration from Eight Regiments in the Army* (including Overton's). 22 November 1647. Thomason Tracts, E. 416 (35).

[3] A pamphlet bearing this title is printed in Maseres, *Select Tracts relating to the Civil War in England*, 1821, pp. lix–lxii.

countenance spake fairly to them demanding what they would have.'[1] Bray was arrested at the head of the Regiment, and three common soldiers were tried and condemned to death, one of whom, after drawing lots, was forthwith shot. Others were sentenced to run the gauntlet.[2] At his first trial Bray behaved with such pride and arrogance, that it was a scandal to honest men to see him, and to hear his denunciations of all authority, but after several adjournments he made a humble submission and was restored to his command, which he soon forfeited again.[3] Discipline was restored, and the Regiment issued a representation to Fairfax acknowledging that neither birthrights nor other privileges which were shared or should be shared with others could relieve them from all obedience and subjection to their Commander-in-Chief's authority.[4]

The need for unity in the army was never greater. The occupation of London in August 1647 and the compulsory withdrawal of some more Presbyterians from the House of Commons had brought peace no nearer. In November Charles escaped from Hampton Court to Carisbrook Castle, where he was detained by the governor, Hammond, as a prisoner. In December he signed the *Engagement* with the

[1] *Clarendon State Papers* 1773, ii. app. xlii. Cf. *A full Relation of the Proceedings at the Rendezvous of that Brigade of the Army that was held at Corkbush Field in Hartford Parish on Monday last.* Maseres, *Select Tracts*, pp. lvi–lvii.

[2] A lane was formed of soldiers, each armed with a rod, who struck at the culprit (stripped to the waist) as he ran through them.

[3] Rushworth, viii. 875, 922, 937, 943; *Old Parliamentary History*, xvi. 334; *Clarke Papers*, i. 411–12, note *d*; Gardiner, iv. 23.

[4] 23 November, 1647. Rushworth, viii. 913–14. In contrast to Lilburne's regiment, Overton's showed no signs of discontent, but readily obeyed all orders. *Ibid.*, p. 878.

Scotch Commissioners, by which he agreed to the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years and to the suppression of Independency. Though the precise terms of this agreement were not discovered immediately, the Army learnt that the King proposed to call in a Scotch force to rivet upon them a yoke they utterly abhorred. All their endeavours to avoid a second civil war were in vain. Soon risings of Presbyterians and Royalists sprang up throughout the land. Before setting forth to meet this new danger, recourse was had to a prayer-meeting at Windsor of unusual duration and solemnity. On the third day the oratory of Goffe moved officers and agitators to a decision fraught with momentous consequences for England. As success in battle was regarded as a sign of divine favour, so failure in the late negotiations seemed to the Puritan soldiers to denote divine displeasure. When Goffe applied the text, 'Turn you at my reproof: behold, I will pour out my spirit unto you, I will make known my words unto you',[1] to the present situation, his audience thought the spirit of the Lord accompanied him. When he denounced the recent 'carnal conferences' with the King as prompted by worldly wisdom, fear, and lack of faith, his hearers were cut to the heart. The sequel is best told in the simple words of one who was present.

'None was able hardly to speak a word to each other for bitter weeping, partly in the sense and shame of our iniquities of unbelief, base fear of men, and carnal consultations (as the fruit thereof) with our own wisdoms, and not with the word of the Lord . . . and yet were also helped with fear and trembling to rejoice in the Lord, whose faithfulness and loving-kindness we were made to see yet failed us not. . . . Presently we were led, and helped

[1] Prov. i. 23.

to a clear agreement amongst ourselves, not any dissenting, that it was the duty of our day, with the forces we had, to go out and fight against those potent enemies, which that year[1] in all places appeared against us, with an humble confidence in the name of the Lord only, that we should destroy them; also enabling us then, after serious seeking His face, to come to a very clear and joint resolution, on many grounds at large then debated amongst us, that it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations.'[2]

Inspired by this missionary zeal the divisions of the army went their several ways, part under Fairfax to subdue the Royalists of the south-east and part under Cromwell to quell an unnatural alliance of Welsh Cavaliers and revolted Parliamentarians.

In South Wales Poyer, the Governor of Pembroke Castle, began the revolt and was soon joined by Langharne, the erstwhile commander of the Parliamentarian forces there. Thereupon the rising quickly spread. The few men who remained loyal to the army could only retire and await the approaching reinforcements. Before the serious nature of the revolt was apparent, two companies of Overton's regiment were dispatched by water, and landed in Milford Haven. They were too few, however, for the work in hand. Immediately they were assailed by superior numbers and driven into Pwllcrochan church, which they could not hold. They capitulated, but were allowed to march away with their arms, and the only condition

[1] 1648. This narrative by William Allen was not written until 1659.

[2] *A Faithful Memorial.* Somers Tracts, ed. 1751, III. Vol. ii. 309–10, ed. 1809–15, vi. 500. Cf. Gardiner, iv. 119–20.

imposed was that they should not again land at Milford.[1] The rest of the Regiment, now led by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reade, was more fortunate and won distinction at St. Fagan's, where Horton utterly defeated Langharne.[2] The victory was so decisive that when Cromwell arrived he found the enemy confined to a few strongholds. Reade assisted in the attack on Tenby, which was stubbornly defended, but stormed after a long and tedious siege.[3] He then joined Cromwell before Pembroke, which only surrendered after a protracted resistance, during which he suffered some casualties from sorties.[4]

As soon as his work was accomplished in South Wales, Cromwell set out for the north to meet the Scots Hamilton was leading into England and their English allies under Langdale, who hoped to enforce the 'Engagement' upon England. Cromwell's weary soldiers suffered much from their hurried march north. 'Our brigade came hither [Leicester] to-day [1 August]', wrote one of them. 'Our marches long, and want of shoes and stockings gives discouragement to our soldiers, having received no pay these many months to buy them, nor can we procure any, unless we plunder, which was never heard of by any under the Lieutenant-General's[5] conduct; nor will be, though they march barefoot, which many have done, since our advance from Wales.'[6] Fortunately supplies of shoes were forthcoming before the actual campaign began. The odds were all against Cromwell, who had less than 10,000 men to face 21,000 or 24,000. On the other hand,

[1] Rushworth, viii. 1036, 1050; Phillips, *Civil War in Wales*, ii. 349–50.
[2] Phillips, ii. 366.
[3] Rushworth. viii. 1133–4; Phillips, ii. 377–8.
[4] Carlyle, i. 319–22.
[5] Cromwell's.
[6] *The Moderate*, quoted by Gardiner, iv. 178.

Hamilton proved a most incapable leader, and allowed Cromwell to destroy his army piecemeal.

The fighting began on 17 August, when Cromwell fell upon Langdale's 3,600 Englishmen posted a short way east of Preston. Though outnumbered by more than two to one Langdale's strong position enabled him to make a stout resistance among the hedges of the enclosed ground on which he stood, and four hours of stiff fighting elapsed before Cromwell could send his horse in pursuit of a defeated foe. In his dispatch Cromwell commented on the stubbornness with which the contest had been waged. 'There came no bands of your foot to fight that day but did it with incredible valour and resolution, among which Colonel Bright's, my Lord General's, Lieutenant-Colonel Reade's and Colonel Ashton's had the greatest work, they often coming to push of pike and to close firing, and always making the enemy to recoil.'[1] The rest of the campaign partook of the nature of a flight by the Scots and a relentless pursuit by the English through Wigan and Warrington. In three days Cromwell had utterly scattered Hamilton's forces, slain two thousand and captured ten thousand. A week later Colchester, the stronghold of the Royalists in the south-east, surrendered to Fairfax,[2] and the second Civil War was virtually over. Cromwell now paid a visit to Scotland, and arranged with Argyle and the faction hostile to Hamilton that the 'Engagers' should be excluded from all political offices. On his way north he secured the capitulation of Berwick, which he garrisoned with Overton's regiment,[3] still under the command of Reade. For nearly

[1] Carlyle, i. 338–9.
[2] 27 August 1648.
[3] Rushworth, viii. 1306; Carlyle, i. 371–2.

two years the Regiment was engaged in garrison duty in the north of England. It is now time to point out the changes of personnel which had already taken place, or which were about to be effected during this quiet interval.

The colonel, Robert Overton, had little connexion with the Regiment from his first appointment, because he was already deputy-governor of Pontefract,[1] and acted in the same capacity at Hull from about August 1647. The command of the Regiment therefore devolved upon the lieutenant-colonel, Thomas Reade, formerly major, who succeeded Gray some time during 1646.[2] Wade ceased to be major in or before 1648, and his place was taken by Robert Reade. Among the new captains may be mentioned Edward Orpin, formerly Commissary-General of Provisions in Manchester's army, an agitator in 1647, and entrusted by Cromwell with the delivery to the Speaker of the flags captured at Worcester in 1651.[3] In 1648, probably when the Regiment was at Berwick, it was given to Colonel George Fenwick, under whom it remained till about 1654.

Meanwhile, Robert Lilburne's regiment was performing garrison duties at Newcastle, where it passed under the command of Sir Arthur Hesilrige about the time of his appointment as governor there.[4] Once again many

[1] Appointed by the Governor, Sir Thomas Fairfax, in August 1645.

[2] According to the Presbyterian Edwards (*Gangraena*, 1646, pt. iii. 70), Gray was dismissed on a false charge of drunkenness, when his real crime was his Presbyterianism and loyalty to Parliament. He was killed at Dunbar, fighting for the Scots, Hodgson, p. 279.

[3] Carlyle, iii. 280; *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1651, pp. 422, 424; *Clarke Papers*, i. 14, 176, 437.

[4] Lilburne was governor of Newcastle from about June to December 1647, when Hesilrige succeeded him (Rushworth, viii. 797; *Commons' Journals* v. 239).

changes were made in its officers. The new lieutenant-colonel was Paul Hobson,[1] previously major, who was succeeded in that position by Jeremiah Tolhurst—a sole survivor of the original captains nominated at the formation of the New Model. Of the captains, five[2] had attained this rank in the Regiment before 1648, and two[3] succeeded to it in that year. More famous, however, than any one at present connected with the Regiment except the colonel were the chaplains, John Canne, succeeded before January 1649 by George Downing. The first was a member of the Brownist[4] congregation at Amsterdam during Charles's reign, but returned to England in 1640 as an Anabaptist, and ultimately developed into a Fifth Monarchy man, writing innumerable pamphlets, and joining in, or sympathizing with, plots against the Protectorate. His successor soon abandoned his chaplaincy[5] to become scoutmaster-general of Cromwell's army in 1650, and was employed on various diplomatic missions

About this time he became colonel of a regiment of horse raised in the northern counties, partly from his old regiment of arquebusiers.

[1] Possibly the Lieutenant Hobson of Charles Duckett's company in John Hampden's regiment, May 1643 (Exchequer Papers, 129), who probably became a captain in Thomas Rainborough's regiment in Manchester's army. Edwards, *Gangraena*, has many references to Hobson, of which the following is typical: 'There is one Paul Hobson, a taylor, who comes out of Buckinghamshire, and is now a captain, having been in the armies. This man when he was in the army, where ever he came he would preach publikely in the churches, where he could get pulpits, and privately to the souldiers.' Pt. i, pp. 89–90.

[2] Richard Deane (succeeded by Henry Mason in March 1650), Gabriel Earwood (succeeded in November 1649 by James Rose, previously his lieutenant), Abraham Holmes, Robert Hutton, and John Topping.

[3] James Hart and Ethelbert Morgan.

[4] A name given to the sectaries, who became known as Independents.

[5] Apparently he achieved some fame as a chaplain, for Edwards describes him as 'a preacher of the army, a young Peters'—Hugh Peters being the most popular preacher among Independents and the most hated by the Royalists of all sectarian ministers. *Gangraena*, pt. iii, pp. 81–2.

both before and after the Restoration, when he incurred lasting infamy by superintending the kidnapping and transference to England from Holland of three regicides. His biographer remarks that 'his abilities are proved by his career, but his reputation was stained by servility, treachery and avarice'.[1] Downing Street, Whitehall, is called after him.

These two regiments were too far distant to exercise much influence upon political transactions from the autumn of 1648 to the spring of 1650, but both signified by petitions their eagerness for the trial of the King. After nearly 150 members of the Commons had been excluded as opponents of the policy adopted by the Army, an Act was passed for erecting a High Court of Justice to judge Charles I. Among those named as judges were Fenwick, Hesilrige, Lilburne, and Overton, but only Lilburne signed the warrant for the King's execution.

[1] Sir Charles Firth, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The life of John Canne to be found there is indifferent and should be supplemented by works such as Miss L. F. Brown's *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, 1911.

Invictissimo Pientissimoque vere Principi, OLIVARO totius Angliæ, Scotiæ, et
Cujus CELSITUDINI primitus, suisque seorsim Ducibus, Tribunis, et Mil

V. PICTURE-PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR

From the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library

PROTECTORI *præpotentissimo* F.F. *Felicitatem, victorias, Triumphos* &
Primipilaribus, hanc calcographi*cam Prælij* Dunbarren*sis Sanctiss.* DDD

Sold by Pet Stent

III

MONCK'S REGIMENT AND THE WAR IN SCOTLAND

When Cromwell set out to invade Scotland in July 1650, he determined to find a position in his army for George Monck, a professional soldier of great experience and proved skill.[1] An opportunity was afforded by Colonel Bright's resignation of his command of his regiment of foot, but the soldiers themselves unexpectedly objected to the change. A deputation of colonels came and asked if they would have Monck. 'Colonel Monk!' said some of them, 'What! to betray us? We took him, not long since, at Namptwick,[2] prisoner: we'll have none of him.'[3] Not to be foiled, Cromwell formed a new regiment by taking five companies from each of the regiments of Fenwick and Hesilrige, and appointed Monck as colonel.[4] This is the Regiment which in unbroken continuity is represented to-day by the Coldstream

[1] Cromwell described Monck in 1655 as an 'honest generall' and a 'simple hearted man'. *Clarke Papers*, ii. 242. Monck's earlier career is described in Appendix VII.

[2] 25 January 1644, when the Irish forces were defeated by Sir Thomas Fairfax, under whom Bright's regiment fought, and Monck was taken prisoner.

[3] *Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson*, p. 139, who belonged to Bright's regiment, which now passed to John Lambert. Hodgson places this incident at Alnwick, so that it can be dated approximately 17 July.

[4] On 13 August the Commons ordered this regiment to be taken on the establishment. *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1650, pp. 258, 283.

Guards. The officers were, Colonel George Monck, whose captain-lieutenant was probably Richard Boone,[1] Lieutenant-Colonel William Gough,[2] Major Abraham Holmes, and Captains James Rose,[3] James Hart,[4] Ethelbert Morgan,[5] Francis Nicholls,[6] John Robins,[7] and, probably, Benjamin Groome[7] and John Gardiner,[7] with one other.

Cromwell began the invasion of Scotland on 22 July, with an army of about 16,000 men, of whom about a third were horse.[8] His intention was to force an engagement upon the Scots under David Leslie, although outnumbered by about two to one, but was repeatedly foiled by the defensive tactics of his adversary. First

[1] Monck on 28 August 1651 speaks of Boone (whose christian name is uncertain), as 'formerly captain-lieutenant to my own company'. Cary, ii. 347.

[2] Gough was a lieutenant at a Council of War held at Bury St. Edmunds on 29 May 1647. *Declaration of the Engagements, Remonstrances . . . . from Sir Thomas Fairfax*, printed by Matthew Simmons, 1647.

[3] Previously lieutenant to Gabriel Earwood of Hesilrige's and captain from about November 1649.

[4] Captain under Hesilrige.

[5] Lieutenant in May 1647, later captain under Hesilrige.

[6] Or Nicholas, previously ensign in Lilburne's in 1647 and lieutenant to Richard Deane of Hesilrige's.

[7] All except Gardiner assigned conjecturally to Fenwick's, since the only company commander known to have come from that regiment is Gough. Of the military careers of these officers before 1650 little can be even conjectured. A Benjamin Groome was ensign in the regiment of Lord Robartes in 1642; a John Robins was ensign to Lieutenant-Colonel George Crompton in Colonel James Prince's regiment in May 1644. John Gardner or Gardiner had been an ensign in Captain Richard Deane's company in Hesilrige's regiment. John Garner is mentioned as a captain of Monck's in Lilburne's Order Book, 8 April 1654, and I imagine Garner, of whom no other mention has been found, is the same as Gardiner. He is to be distinguished from Captain Samuel Gardiner, who served in Hesilrige's horse in Waller's army, and resigned from Colonel Thomas Horton's horse rather than serve in Ireland. *The Moderate*, 1–7 August 1649.

[8] List of regiments in D. Mackinnon's *Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*, i. 20–1.

he advanced on Edinburgh from the east, but had to retreat without assaulting the works which barred his way.[1] Then he tried to get to the north of Edinburgh by a western route, only to find Leslie posted in an unassailable position at Corstorphine.[2] Baffled here, he returned again to Musselburgh, where a Council of War decided that the only remaining plan left was to fortify Dunbar and other places nearer the Tweed, and systematically devastate the country from these centres.[3]

On 31 August the retreat from Musselburgh began, and according to Hodgson,[4] there marched towards Dunbar 'a poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army'. No wonder the men were in low spirits. For six weeks they had been engaged in futile attempts to bring an elusive foe to bay. They had endured forced marches, suffered from exposure on bleak hills without tents to torrents of rain, and often lived on bread and water—and even bread had been lacking sometimes.[5] When they reached Dunbar on 1 September they found their line of retreat to England menaced by the Scots who had taken up a position on Doon Hill, to the north-west of Dunbar, and seized the pass to Cockburnspath on the road to Berwick. Cromwell was perplexed: he felt he was 'upon an engagement very difficult. The enemy

[1] 29–30 July. [2] 27–8 August.

[3] *Letters from a Collonell of the Army*, Terry, *Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie*, p. 472; cf. *ibid.*, 474.

[4] *Memoirs*, p. 143.

[5] Carlyle, ii. 74, 76, 88, 92. *Mercurius Politicus*, 22–9 August 1650: 'On Monday last [12 August] the army received their cheese from the London vessels, which was a great refreshment to them, who had for so long time before fed upon bread and water.' As Dr. Gardiner remarked, but for the presence of an English fleet off the coast Cromwell's army must have starved. *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, i. 271–2.

hath blocked up our way at the pass at Copperspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination.' Yet he did not despair, for 'we have much hope in the Lord, of whose mercies we have had large experience.'[1]

The very day on which Cromwell wrote this letter, a chance of deliverance was offered, for the Scots, apparently fearing that their enemies might escape by sea, descended from Doon Hill and took up a new station facing the sea, and nearly at right angles to the Broxburn flowing through a ditch forty or fifty feet deep. When Cromwell saw the movement he realized that at last he had an opportunity of fighting, and after consultation with Lambert and Monck, decided to attack.

Cromwell's tactics were simple. He contained the Scottish left wing and left centre with his artillery and a small guard while he concentrated the bulk of his forces against their right wing and right centre. On his left he placed Lambert with most of his cavalry, while Monck led the infantry in the centre. Monck's task was an unenviable one, since he had to attack the Scottish infantry thrice as numerous as his own. At first he was repulsed, but then Cromwell himself brought up the reserve and restored the position. For a time some of the Scots fought well. 'My own regiment', Cromwell noted, 'did come seasonably in and at the push of pike did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there.' Then the tide turned, and the English advanced. 'I never

[1] 2 September. Carlyle, ii. 92.

beheld a more terrible charge of foot than was given by our army', wrote Rushworth, who was there; 'our foot alone making the Scots foot give ground for three-quarters of a mile together.' According to his admiring biographer, Monck 'as brigadere with three regiments of foot; at the head of them, with his pike in his hand, he charged up the hills that are above the town from the seaside, and only Lawers his regiment of highlanders made a good defence. . . . They stood to the push of the pike and were all cut in pieces.' Meanwhile Lambert, having defeated the cavalry opposed to him, came to finish the rout of the Scottish infantry. Never was a victory more complete. Three to four thousand Scots were cut down, and ten thousand taken prisoners. And this at a cost of twenty English lives.[1]

After this triumph Cromwell speedily overran the Lowlands, and spent the winter in reducing various strongholds. It is impossible to state what part in this war of sieges was taken by Monck's regiment, because the practice was adopted of drawing single companies out of the different regiments for specified service. Monck is mentioned as securing the surrenders of Roslin, Tantallon Castle, and Blackness, but the scanty accounts do not say that his own regiment was with him.[2] Probably a company or so were with him, and the remainder distributed into garrisons, chiefly at Leith.[3]

[1] 'The Battle of Dunbar', by C. H. Firth, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., xiv. The picture of the battle makes the topography clear.

[2] *Mercurius Politicus*, 28 November/5 December 1650; 13–20 February 1651; 3–10 April 1651. It is said that although Tantallon Castle 'yeilded to mercy' (i.e. surrendered at discretion) 'Colonel Monck out of his usual civility, suffered not a man of them to be stripped or plundered'. James Heath, *A Brief Chronicle*, ed. 1663, p. 521.

[3] Holmes and Rose at least were there in December. Exchequer Papers, 240.

By June 1651, Cromwell, who had been disabled in the spring by illness, was sufficiently recovered to take the field. He found the Scottish army strongly posted south of Stirling, and soon decided that a frontal attack would be fruitless. He therefore crossed the Forth and captured Perth.[1] He was thus in a position to prevent the Scots getting supplies or communicating with the north. This manœuvre had left the road to England open, and the Scots marched thither. Cromwell, by no means surprised, left a force of five or six thousand under Monck to complete the conquest of Scotland, and himself marched in pursuit.

Monck had no field army to face, so he could devote himself to the capture of garrisoned towns without fear of interruption. Stirling readily capitulated, but stiffer opposition was encountered at Dundee. The Governor haughtily refused Monck's summons to surrender, so preparations for storming proceeded apace. The following account is the fullest preserved of any of Monck's sieges, and is quoted in its entirety, as an example of a successful storm.

'September 1. About 4 of the clocke in the morning our great guns began to plaie before Dundee round about the line. The enimy for 2 or 3 houres answered us gun for gun, besides small shot from their workes, til such tyme as large breaches were made in two of their most considerable fortes. They shouted and seem'd very high, calling our men dogges. Wee had a Commander and severall matrosses hurt by the hasty spunging of a great gun. Mr. Hane the engineere plaid the morter peece. There was 3 horses kild in Colonel Okeys regiment in the west side at one shot by a great gun.

[1] Previously Callender House was stormed on 16 July by a body composed of ten files from each regiment. Here Captain James Rose was killed. *Cromwelliana*, 1810, p. 105.

Three hundred horse and dragoons, being 11 of a troope, were appointed to fall on with the foot with sword and pistoll. Our men were drawne forth in ambeskadoes by day breake to fall on upon when breaches were made, and with them 200 seamen whoe had their postes assign'd, and 400 horse appointed to second them mounted. About 11 of the clocke the signall was given, and breaches being made into the enimies fortes on the east and west side of the towne, our men entred, and after about halfe an houres hot dispute, divers of the enimy retreated to the church and steeple, and amongst the rest the Govenour, whoe was kild with betweene foure and five hundred souldyers and townesmen. When our men[1] got to the marquet place they gave quarter, and tooke about 500 prisoners, and amongst the rest Colonel Coningham, Governour of Sterling, whoe was in the towne with many of his souldyers which marched thence. The souldyers had the plunder of the towne for all that day and night, and had very large prize, many inhabitants of Edinburgh and other places having sent their ware and geere thither.[2] There were about 190 sayle of ships, in the harbour of 10, 6 and 4 guns, which were all prize, about 40 peeces of ordnance, many armes and stoare of ammunition. Captain Hart led on the forlorne of Lieutenant Generall Monkes regiment on the west side, Maior Robinson the horse, and Colonel Ashfield's regiment went on the east side. There was kild of ours Captain Hart and about 20 souldyers, and as many wounded. Captain Ely led on the Pioneers whoe made way for the horse, and the Lieutenant Generall went in person. Our word was God with us, and the signe a white cloath or shirt hanging out behind.

[1] MS. 'townsmen'.

[2] According to Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 553, Monck's soldiers 'plundered the town of all its former and newly put in wealth, which amounted to vast sums. Household goods were of so mean an account, that nothing but plate and money was regarded, and for which featherbeds were ript, and the feathers thrown about, for it was absolutely the richest town in Scotland, but now left not worth a groat.

By the best testimony wee could get, the townes people were most obstinate against a rendition upon termes, being confident of their owne workes and strength, having formerly beat out Montrosse, but they have now most suffered for it, and paid dearely for their contempt.

September 2. Proclamacion was made by the Lieutenant Generall that the souldyers should forbeare further plundering, or rifling of the houses in Dundee, and order given to the inhabitantes to bury the dead carkases.'

Other accounts also testify to the great value of the booty secured during the twenty-four-hours' licence which Monck allowed his men in accordance with the usage of war after a successful storm. According to a Scot, the English 'had gotten above two hundred thousand pound stirling, partly of ready gold, silver and silver work, jewels, rings, merchandise and merchant wares and other precious things belonging to the town of Edinburgh, by and beside all that belonged to the town and other people of the country, who had sent in their goods for safety to that town'.[1] The men seem to have fared better than their superiors, for Monck writes that his officers were much troubled at rumours that the ships captured in the harbour were to be sold for the benefit of the state, 'when they had noe other prize, and the souldyours who had booty by the plundour of this towne wilbe in a better condicion than the officers, whoe are in a worse condicion here then any where else, having had but a fortnight's paie this long tyme, soe that they have noe monyes to buy themselves cloathes and other necessaries'.[2]

[1] Nicoll, *Diary*, 1836, pp. 57–8. Other evidence about the storming of Dundee is cited in the *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, iii. 3–5.

[2] *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, 1895, pp. 17–18.

THE ILLUSTRATION facing is Monck's Letter on the Storming of Dundee, 1651. From the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

May it please yo^r Excellencie

Since it hath pleased the Lord to bl
upon us the misery of the taking of the Lords a Copie of
names I sent yo^r Ex^ie in my last. Wee have by st
to ben the Towne of Dundee. There was in it about
Souldiers besides the Townesmen. Wee lost in the stor
about six Officers and about 20 private Souldiers. Yt is
very great mercy that there was not more killed in reg
of the disadvantage wee hath w^th Cale and of the num
w^ch wee were to deale w^th they being as many m
as wee were. There was killed of the Enemy about
2 200 or thereabouts taken prisoners the Governo
Leslie, 60 Sayles of Shipps in the harbour and about
Iron guns in & about the Towne. The Inhabitan
of the people inforst the Souldiers to plunder the T
Shumbly desire to know whether it be yo^r Ex^ie
that this place be fortified otherwise wee are it
not be inabled in case w^th out a great deale of trou
St Andrews is found in which I ordered to pay 5
refusing the first Summons, and Sr Iohn Arnot
Montrosse will likewise come in upon Summons
I intend to make it our Winter quarters. Truely my
know not what I shall be able to doe, unless wee
more forces being soe weakened by reason of sickn
that I march not above 1200 foot. It is my
yo^r Ex^ie that this place be made a Garrison Somewh
amongst leave all the foot at Shumby where this
Ex^ie Confederates and w^th Shumbly by yo^r Ex^ies
are unable in this Iointure of Some more forces and
likewise have be taken in the coming Counties of more
to Leith. God desiring the Lords to protect you
yo^r proceedings Shumbly take leave & remayne

My Lord

Yo^r Ex^ies most humble

George Monck

Although Monck allowed the soldiers to plunder the inhabitants as a matter of course, he had no intention of prolonging this period of licence indefinitely. An iron disciplinarian, he caused proclamations to be issued forbidding any further looting, and permitting the inhabitants to follow their lawful occupations without interference. Henceforth, all found guilty of molesting Scots who had peacefully submitted were threatened with, and received when convicted at court martial, the sharpest censure and severest punishments provided for in the Articles of War.[1]

By this time Monck's small forces were quite exhausted. The hardness of the service and the resultant sickness had reduced his three regiments of foot to twelve hundred men. For the present, therefore, he had to call a halt and await reinforcements.[2] There was nothing to fear from the Scots. The last army they were able to raise for the present had been utterly routed at Worcester, where Cromwell's 'crowning mercy' was so complete that only a few individuals succeeded in escaping. Additional regiments could now be spared for Monck, and the remaining castles were gradually captured. Monck himself left Scotland in February 1652, at first merely to recuperate at Bath, but he remained in England to become one of the 'generals at sea' during the Dutch war. In his absence Scotland was united to England, and given representation in the English Parliament by the Instrument of Government which established the Protectorate,

[1] The proclamations are printed in *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 324–5; the Articles of War in the Appendix to *Cromwell's Army*; examples of the punishment of soldiers for plundering in *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 15–16, note 2, and *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, iii. 14–17, 46–7.

[2] The regiments were Monck's, Ashfield's, and Reade's.

but any material benefit which accrued to the conquered nation was vitiated at its source. 'As for the embodying of Scotland with England', wrote Blair, 'it will be as when the poor bird is embodied into the hawk that hath eaten it up.'[1] The heavy taxation necessary to pay the alien army of occupation gave point to the simile. When the Union was proclaimed at Edinburgh an Englishman observed with disgust that 'soe sencelesse are this generation of their owne goods that scarce a man of them shew'd any signe of rejoycing'.[2] The Scots remained ungrateful for the loss of their national freedom until the last, and only awaited a favourable opportunity to try their fortunes again against their conquerors, who, to many grievances added yet this above all, that they were Independents who believed in toleration. What a Presbyterian thought on this subject may be gathered from Thomas Edward's *Gangraena, or A Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errours of the Sectaries:*

'A toleration is the grand designe of the Devil, his Masterpeece and chiefe engine he works by at this time to uphold his tottering kingdome. It is the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evill. . . . It is against the whole streame and current of Scripture . . . the destroyer of all religion, the abomination of desolation . . . all the devils in Hell and their instruments being at work to promote a toleration.'[3]

For the present the Lowland Presbyterians were powerless, exhausted by the pitiless blows dealt them by the Cromwellians. The Highlanders, on the other hand, were not yet thoroughly subdued, and at the beginning of 1654

[1] *Life of Robert Blair*, 1848, p. 292.

[2] *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 41.

[3] 1646, pt. i, pp. 121–2.

Monck was sent back again to Scotland to face the clansmen who had rallied round the Royalists, Glencairne and Middleton. It is unnecessary to describe the campaign here in any detail because the only serious fight at Dalnaspidal, where Morgan defeated Middleton, took place in the absence of Monck and his regiment. The hardships of campaigning in the Highlands are vividly described by Heath :[1]

'Nothing but invincible patience and resolution could have endured it, for besides the want of provisions in that scarce, barren country, against which the souldiers were armed only with bread and cheese, which they eat 20 days together, that nature could hardly discharge itself, the ways were most times so abrupt, that hardly more then one could go abreast, and over the hills if a horse foot slipt, men were in danger of breaking their necks down the precipices, and horse and men sure to be lost. No quarter to be had but in the glens, and great happiness was it accounted to meet with them and fresh water, near which to pitch tents.'

If the Royalists suffered thus, their pursuers must have fared worse because they were in a hostile country.

Monck and his foot did their share in the systematic ravaging of the Highlands, which commended itself to Englishmen as the most efficacious way to render the Highlanders innocuous.[2] Extracts from the letters of Cornet Baynes give a clear picture of the methods of warfare adopted.

'To give you account of our daily marches since my

[1] *A Brief Chronicle*, p. 669.

[2] As early as 7 February 1652, Monck had written to Cromwell: 'I cannot conceive that ever we shall be absolutely masters of this country unless the Highlands be laid waste, which I conceive may easily be done in one summers service.' British Museum, Add. MS. 38,091, fo. 98.

last from Riven is too tedious, and to give it exactly, for our way is almost incredulous. Since Tuesday was se'nnight we have not rested one day, nor scarce any part of a day in our way for 8 days past. We have not found man, woman or child at their homes, all being either in arms or in remote places with their cattle. At their return they will have new houses to build and corn to seek, which will be a means to quiet them, or nothing [will]. . . . Formerly they denied us assessments and their lords their rent, but now they may plead some excuse, for we have done what we possibly could to disable them, having eaten and spoiled most of their corn, burnt their houses, and made prize of what cattle or horses came within our reach, and that not a few. . . . We shall next week leave the field. Our burnings and sending to the Barbadoes have put such a fright into the enemy, that many of them—and some of good esteem—are solicitous to come in and live peaceably at home.' [1]

By these drastic methods, by the erection of fortresses, by exacting security for good behaviour from the disaffected, and by requiring travellers to apply for passes, Monck reduced the Highlands to order. Peace now reigned in Scotland, but it was simply the result of exhaustion, not of contentment. The English rule was obeyed because it could not be safely resisted, but it never secured any general approval or popular acceptance. The English army of occupation was feared but hated, and had always to live as conquerors in a hostile land.

[1] 29 June, 13, 17 August. *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, 1856, pp. 78, 91–2. Monck's instructions as Commander-in-Chief empowered him to cause to be transported to English plantations Highlanders captured in arms as often and in such numbers as he thought fit. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 79–80.

IV

INTERNAL LIFE OF THE REGIMENT

THE establishment[1] of a foot regiment for the forces in England and Scotland for 1652 comprised 'field and staff' officers as well as the officers and men of ten companies. The former were the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, sergeant-major (thus officially described, but usually called simply major), preacher (or chaplain), quartermaster and provost-marshal, wagoner, gunsmith (with one mate), and drum-major. In the seven 'private' companies there were a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, two sergeants, three corporals, two drums, a gentleman of arms,[2] and a hundred soldiers. There were three additional companies: the colonel's,[3] two hundred strong, with two extra sergeants and one corporal; the lieutenant-colonel's, one hundred and sixty strong; and the major's, one hundred and forty strong, the two last each having one extra sergeant. Otherwise they had precisely the same officers as an ordinary company.

The next point to be considered is how officers were appointed and men recruited. Until his death Oliver Cromwell, and after him his son Richard until his resig-

[1] The establishment for the forces in England and Scotland for 1652 is in Clarke MS. 43, fo. 1, Appendix III.

[2] The storekeeper of arms and ammunition: often called a gentleman at arms. As his pay was only fourpence a day, I presume he was also mustered as a private soldier.

[3] Virtually commanded by the lieutenant, usually styled a captain-lieutenant in this case. He only received the pay of an ordinary lieutenant.

nation of the Protectorate, had the sole nomination of all officers. Monck had no authority of this kind as Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, but there is evidence that his recommendations had great weight. An illustration in support of this statement reveals another important feature of the Cromwellian army, that men were promoted from the ranks. In 1654 Monck wrote to Cromwell:

'Your highness has bin pleased to give commission for one Mr. Midleguest an High-Dutchman to bee ensigne of Captaine Hughes his company, to which place I had appointed Sergeant Underhill (an honest man) before the commission was granted for this High-Dutchman, who is a sickly man and hardly able to endure the hills. I humbly desire that Mr. Malyn,[1] may write to mee who of them shalbee ensigne of Captain Hughes his company, and your highnesse' pleasure therein shalbee obeyed.'[2]

Monck's remonstrance was effective, and Underhill now became an ensign, and rose to be a lieutenant in 1659.

Further light is thrown on methods of promotion by the correspondence about the majority in the Regiment when Holmes seemed about to be made a lieutenant-colonel. 'There is a great contest in General Monck's regiment about the major's place', wrote a candidate. 'The general is very much a friend to Captain Morgan, the eldest captain. Major Holmes is for one of his own judgement,[3] a junior captain, and the regiment for the most part closes with the major; but if they must have a stranger, would rather have me than another, or than Morgan, but the general sticks close by Morgan.'[4] In spite of a

[1] Cromwell's secretary.

[2] 14 December, 1654. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 224.

[3] That is, a fanatical Anabaptist.

[4] Robert Baynes to Adam Baynes, *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 134.

personal interview, Monck remained firm in his preference for Morgan, who in addition to seniority had the further merit of being an excellent soldier without pronounced views on politics or religion.

When there was a vacant company, the captain-lieutenant had a kind of prescriptive right to it. Thus Richard Hughes[1] and William Downes were both captains-lieutenant before becoming captains. Although seniority was the general rule it was by no means universal. Robert Winter, who was only a wagoner in 1653, was apparently an ensign in March 1658, and a captain in April 1659.[2]

On the whole, promotion was slow until the autumn of 1659,[3] but then wholesale desertions and cashierings caused it to be very rapid. Then the many vacancies were filled by the promotions of corporals and sergeants to supply the places of ensigns who became lieutenants, who in their turn advanced a step. The absence of any muster rolls renders generalizations dangerous, but so far as can be discovered seniority and sound politics were the determining factors. Thus Ethelbert Morgan and Francis Nicholls, whose connexion with the Regiment was longest, became lieutenant-colonel and major respectively. Four captains retained their companies, while of the three new captains, one had held some rank for at least a year, and the other two were almost certainly former lieutenants.[4]

[1] He volunteered for service in Flanders and obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, but died there before 25 May 1659. Monck's Order Book, 25 May 1659, where his father's name is given as Robert ap Hugh.

[2] Lilburne's Order Book, 13 December 1653; Clarke MS. 30; Monck's Order Book.

[3] When Monck decided to intervene in England for Parliament against the army officers in London. Vide *infra*.

[4] These promotions can be traced in the lists in Appendix V.

Great care was also taken, so Gumble says, in the selection of sergeants and corporals, 'who are the eyes and hands of every particular company'. In addition to their strictly military duties, the non-commissioned officers were charged in 1659 with the delicate task of explaining to the men the reasons for Monck's opposing the army in England under Lambert. Promises of preferment ('a motive that never fails') were held out to those who discoursed most prudently and fitly upon the justice and necessity of resisting the establishment of a military tyranny at Whitehall.[1]

There was little difficulty encountered in recruiting the rank and file once the prestige of the army was established and service in it recognized as a permanent occupation. Whereas in 1645 about half the men of the New Model were pressed, vacancies after 1650 were filled by volunteers, and deserters were very few. Indeed, after the battle of Worcester in 1651, the question was not how to add to, but how to reduce, the strength of the army. Considering that after successive reductions Monck's regiments of foot only numbered 700 in 1657 it is probable that he did little recruiting until 1658 and 1659 when it was decided to increase the strength to 800. At first no attempt was made to obtain fresh levies locally. The procedure followed can be illustrated from the Order Book:

'Passe for Corporall John Hancock, corporall to Captain Parker's company in his lordshipps owne regiment of foot with his armes and necessaries, to passe into England and to return within 6 weekes after the date hereof with such recruits as hee shall bring for the said company who are to be allowed in the muster from the time that he bringes

[1] Gumble, *Life of Monck*, p. 141.

them before any justice of peace or other magistrate who may certifie the time of their entertainment.'[1]

Nearly a year later Holmes, with other officers commanding regiments, was ordered to tell the captains 'to entertaine ten men in each companie whereby the regiment may be recruited to the number of 800 (officers included) and to take care that such as hee entertaines bee well affected persons.'[2] In a fortnight eight sergeants from eight different regiments were sent to England in pursuance of this and similar orders. They were instructed to recruit old soldiers if they could, such as were well-affected to the Parliament, and to take care that the soldiers behaved civilly on the march or to expect to be called in question for any disorders that occurred.[3] After the breach between the army in England and Monck's forces it is said that Scotsmen were enrolled in the latter, but no particulars have been found.[4]

A description of the way in which a soldier might leave the army is a natural sequence to an explanation of recruiting methods. In the first place he might be dismissed by court martial, and this punishment might even be accompanied by various onerous conditions. Thus two privates of Parker's company were given into the charge of the commander of a frigate, who was to employ them as seamen and not suffer them to go ashore in Scotland, being men banished the army.[5] In the second place a soldier wishing to return to civilian life could obtain a certificate, stating that he was discharged at his own

[1] Order Book, 15 October 1658. [2] *Ibid.*, 19 August 1659.

[3] *Ibid.*, 2 September 1659. These instructions, slightly abbreviated and with modernized spelling, are quoted in *Cromwell's Army*, p. 39, note 1.

[4] Price, p. 740. [5] Order Book, 8 December 1653.

request after so many years service, and was thus entitled to have the benefit of the ordinance enabling him to follow a trade without serving any apprenticeship.[1] Finally, permanent disablement through wounds or disease contracted in the service was another cause of soldiers leaving the army. Such incurables were given a pass to London and a recommendation to the hospitals of Ely House and the Savoy, maintained by the Council of State for the treatment of maimed soldiers. It may be noted here that minor injuries or temporary ailments were treated by the regimental surgeons.[2] Cases too serious for them to handle were sent to Heriot's hospital at Edinburgh, taken over by the military. Owing to its restricted accommodation precaution had to be taken to prevent its overcrowding, and so a special order had to be issued before the master of the hospital could admit a patient.[3] Monck was very particular in seeing that his sick were well looked after, and admonished the surgeon for his slackness in this respect.[4]

[1] A specimen is in the Order Book, 22 October 1658: 'That whereas the bearer hereof, Morgan Williams, hath served the commonwealth in the army of England and Scotland as private souldier in his lordshippes company of foot for the space of tenn years, and now being att his own desire discharged, and soe is capable of having the benefitt of the ordinance &c. and to passe &c. and to follow &c.'

[2] The following curious entry occurs in the Order Book, 22 September 1658: 'Order to Commissary John Clerke, that in regard the severall chyrurgeons of the regiments of foot in Scotland have by the late establishment had some of their pay taken off and by reason of the smallnesse of their pay cannott well live, to aucthorize and require him to muster the chyrurgeons of the severall regiments of foote as private souldiers in the first vacancies that shall happen in any companies of the said regiments and to continue them till further orders.'

[3] This is an inference based on the number of admittance orders in the Order Book.

[4] 'Letter to Dr. Pugh. That understanding that the souldiers in the hospitall doe suffer through some neglect in nott being look't after, his lordshipp thinkes

As regards the pay the colonel received as such twelve shillings a day, the lieutenant-colonel seven, the major five, plus eight shillings in each case as a captain of a company. A captain got eight shillings, a lieutenant four, an ensign three, a sergeant eighteen pence, a corporal a shilling, and an ordinary soldier tenpence during the years 1651–5, and ninepence afterwards except in garrisons when he only received eightpence,[1] probably because he then received 'fire and candle' free. In addition to this regular pay there was always the chance of plunder. Mention has already been made of the rich booty secured when Dundee was stormed, but this instance was exceptional. On the other hand, a stipulation was sometimes included on the surrender of castles or private houses that the goods should be at the soldiers' disposal as prize.[2] Also the campaigns in the Highlands, when the country was systematically laid waste, must have afforded opportunities of spoil. Occasionally, too, gratuities were given for the successful accomplishment of difficult operations.[3]

Unfortunately for the army in Scotland it was never promptly paid. In October 1653 the Commander-in-Chief wrote to Cromwell: 'Our wants of monie are very

fit to acquaint him, that he expects hee should doe his duty as chyrurgeon to the hospitall, and himself or mate to apply all enternall medicines and what is necessarie for chyrurgical cures, and for what relates to physick and internall medicaments Mr. White, apothicary, is to take care to supply them and Dr. Burrow will be helpefull uppon occasion with his advice.' Order Book, 21 February 1659.

[1] Appendix III for full establishment.

[2] *Miscellany of Scottish History Society*, 1919, p. 27. In this case the goods were ordered to be restored because the owner of the house was willing to quarter soldiers, but her intentions were misunderstood.

[3] Thus on 30 September 1653 ten shillings were given to the soldiers and non-commissioned officers of eight companies 'in consideration of their hardshipps and dangers neere Mula Island'. Lilburne's Order Book.

great att this time, being now about 3 monthes in arreare. I humbly intreate your lordshippes furtherance in dispatching some hither, for the souldiers are glad now to live uppon biskett and cheese, which seemes very unsavoury to them at this time.'[1] In December *1657* no less than seven months' pay was owing. It is no wonder that, as Monck reports, 'the officers thinke themselves very hardly dealt withall (being they are soe much in arrear, soe farr distant from their relations and small fortunes, and lye many of them in very remote garrisons wherein they suffer much hardship) that they are not paid equall with those forces in England'.[2]

From the soldiers' pay was deducted the cost of the daily ration of bread or, more frequently, biscuit and cheese,[3] apparently one or two pounds of the former, and a quarter or half of a pound of the latter according

[1] *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 258, cf. 307.

[2] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 373. The jealousy felt by soldiers in Scotland of the preferential treatment enjoyed by their comrades in England must have influenced events in *1659*.

[3] The very difficult problem whether the soldier had to pay for his ration or received it in addition to his pay seems to be solved by the following entry in Monck's Order Book, 22 April *1659*: 'Order to Commissary Eldred uppon an order of his highnesse and councill dated 8 January *1658/9* that whereas there hath bin formerly charged uppon the Lord Cooper's regiment the summe of £903 for the provisionell (?) of cheese mentioned in the annexed order of his highness and councill which cost but £677 5*s*. 6*d*., and in regard the said regiment have sustayned the losse by waste and bore other incident charges for the said cheese (i.e.? carriage), hee is therefore (according to the order of his highnesse and councill) to take off from the said charge the summe of £225 14*s*. 6*d*. and the treasurer is onely to deduct from the said regiment the summe of £677 5*s*. 6*d*., for the provisionell (?) of cheese aforesaid.' Thomas Cooper's petition to Cromwell on this subject is in *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1658–9, p. 183. By an ordinance of 28 May 1647 three shillings per week was deducted from the seven shillings a foot soldier then received for free quarters (*Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, 1911, i. 941–8), but I have not discovered how much a soldier paid for his rations.

to circumstances.[1] Presumably the amount of the ration depended on the possibility of obtaining other victuals, and, during a campaign, on the weight a soldier could carry.[2] These provisions were transported by sea from England, owing to the inferior quality of the native products. The Scots, according to an English traveller, 'have neither good bread, cheese or drink. They cannot make them, nor will they learn. Their butter is very indifferent, and one would wonder how they could contrive to make it so bad.'[3] How the rations were served out is explained in a court martial record. A sergeant deposed that when he was at Ensign Kent's quarters, weighing out biscuit and cheese, the ensign ordered a private called Everitt to go downstairs because the room was overcrowded, and on his refusal, thrust him down, whereupon the soldier exclaimed, 'Faith wee'le rout such officers as you and the lieutenant is'.[4] Probably soldiers in garrisons at least were supplied with beer gratis, though the evidence is rather inconclusive.[5]

To supplement these rations the soldiers had two alter-

[1] *Cromwell's Army*, pp. 226–7, and Monck's Order Book, 19, 20 January 1659.

[2] When on the march one pound of bread and a quarter of a pound of cheese only were allowed. Usually seven days' provisions, occasionally ten, were carried during a campaign. The soldiers were provided with knapsacks, *Clarke Papers*, iv. 92.

[3] John Ray, the naturalist, who visited Scotland about 1662. P. Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 231

[4] *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, pp. 62–5. For this offence Everitt had to ride the wooden horse half an hour with a musket at each heel with his fault written upon his breast, 'For abusing his officer'. The lieutenant referred to (Woodward) had cut open a soldier's head and endangered his life.

[5] A court martial issued an order that no soldier should draw beer without permission. *Miscellany*, p. 12. Lilburne to Cobbett, July 1653: 'I have sent you 30 tun of beere more, which I desire you to husband for the best advantage to the State and souldiers, it stands in 21*s.* a tun.' *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 187.

natives, plunder or purchase. During Monck's campaign in 1654 the former source proved fruitful. A narrative relates that in Kintail 'the souldiers mett with 500 cattell, sheepe and goates, which made some part of amends for the hard march'.[1] An amusing picture of the lot of a soldier on active service is drawn by Richard Franck:

'We stormed the town (of Jedburgh), and 'twould make a man storm to be treated only with oatmeal, of which we made cakes, for every souldier became a baker . . . most of us roosted with an empty appetite, and every man that went that night to bed was sufficiently alarum'd before it was day. . . . The next day we recruited with some country ale, but so thick and roapy it was, that you might eat it with spoons. Besides, some small quantity of mutton was brought us, enough to discover the cookery of the country.'[2]

The problem of cooking must often have presented itself, but the Cromwellian soldier was resourceful: 'some of our souldiers brought a little raw meat with them and became excellent cooks, a back makes a dripping-pan and a head-peece is a porrage-pot.'[3]

In addition to lawful plunder, the soldier might vary his diet with the proceeds of poaching, or even stealing. A proclamation threatened with severe punishment all straggling from their colours with their muskets to kill house-pigeons or rabbits belonging to warrens, and another forbade breaking into orchards and gardens to steal fruit or vegetables.[4] For robbing a woman at Dundee of a leg of mutton one Richard Bolter was

[1] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 150.

[2] *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 186–7.

[3] *Cromwelliana*, p. 85. A trooper could use his armour in this way, but what an infantryman did, who wore none, I have not discovered.

[4] *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 139, 154–5.

VII. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PIKEMEN

sentenced to ride upon a wooden horse for an hour, and to receive thirty stripes.[1] The provisions soldiers could buy, and the prices they had to pay for them, can be ascertained from a schedule drawn up in 1654 by Colonel Thomas Fitch, Governor of Inverness. From this source we learn that a good slaughtering cow could be purchased for £1 6*s.* 8*d.*, a sheep for 4*s.* 6*d.*, a 'veale' for 3*s.*, a hen for 5*d.*, a goose for 1*s.* 2*d.*, a pound of bacon, pork, or salmon for 4*d.*, 2*d.*, and 1*d.* respectively, while bread weighing nine-sixteenths of a pound, 1*d.*, brown bread weighing 13½ ounces, 1*d.*[2] Officers no doubt could provide themselves with a richer fare than privates, and Monck is said to have been lavish in entertaining his subordinates. 'At nights there were great provisions of all kinds of meat that could be got, and free welcome to all the officers, with better state in his tent, and great preparations made for the next day's dinner.'[3]

The next point to be considered is the clothing and equipment of a foot-soldier. At the beginning of the Civil War the pikeman's dress was different from a musketeer's,[4] but was becoming similar towards 1660. In describing their respective costumes,[5] priority is given to the pikeman, because his weapon was regarded as more honourable than the musket. Its greater antiquity, its choice by gentlemen who volunteered to trail 'the puissant pike', and the necessity of fine physique in its bearers, account for the preference assigned to it.

[1] *Miscellany*, pp. 59–60.

[2] E. Dunbar Dunbar, *Social Life in Former Days*, 1865, pp. 307–8.

[3] Gumble, *Life of Monck*, p. 85.

[4] In a regiment of the New Model, one-third of the men were pikemen, two-thirds musketeers.

[5] To understand this description the reader is recommended to study the illustrations of pikemen and musketeers.

On his head the pikeman wore a combe-cap, a lined steel helmet with a raised guard in the centre like a cock's comb. Before 1660 the combe-cap had apparently been replaced by a broad-brimmed felt hat with a feather or feathers at the back. To protect his neck he originally wore a gorget, but it is probable that this was already obsolete in 1642. His main armour was the corslet, or 'back and breast' as it was often called. This was dropping out of use by 1660, and it is improbable that Monck's foot were thus burdened during their campaigns in Scotland. It was replaced by the red coat, which gradually became the uniform of all the infantry of Cromwell's army. Tassets or taces to cover the thighs had disappeared by 1642, and Monck, writing about 1646, recommended instead a girdle of double buff eight inches broad to be worn under the skirts of his doublet.[1] His hands were protected against sword cuts by a stout pair of leather or 'buff' gloves. To cover his lower limbs a soldier wore breeches of stout cloth, worsted or cotton stockings,[2] and low shoes, never boots.

According to Monck 'the defensive arms of a musqueteer is a good courage',[3] and it is certain that the musketeer of the New Model wore no armour. His clothes were similar to a pikeman's after the latter had abandoned his combe-cap and corslet. How the uniform of officers was differentiated from that of the men otherwise than by their ornamental sashes and cloaks, and by the better material used in their garments is uncertain, but there must

[1] *Observations upon Military and Political Affairs*, p. 27.

[2] Judging from some of the old illustrations a soldier wore both, the thicker stocking being turned down at the knee. It is possible the under garment may be drawers.

[3] *Observations*, p. 26.

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have been some way of distinguishing them. Describing the storming of Dundee, William Clarke writes: 'the spoil is like to prove very great; were you here, you would not know a private soldier from an officer, divers of them having got gallant apparel.'[1]

Since the soldiers had to buy their own clothes, the consequences of arrears of pay were most serious. 'I cannott but againe humbly sollicitte in the behalf of the souldiers for their pay,' Lilburne wrote to Cromwell, 'the foote having had since May last but 3*s.* 6*d.* a weeke, and some lesse, which doth utterlie dissable them from providing shoes and clothes to cover them, and are nott in a condition to undertake any service untill they bee recruited with apparrell; and to send doune any thinge which they call amunition stores, the souldiers hath bin soe much cheated in itt that I presume it will bee altogether unseasonable att this time.'[2] A year later things showed no improvement, and the officers were driven to pledge their own credit to buy clothes for their men.[3]

To pass on to the equipment of an infantryman, he was armed according as he was a pikeman or a musketeer. Monck describes the offensive arms of a pikeman as 'a good long pike of eighteen foot in length with a small steel head, and a good stiff tuck not very long with a belt: for if you arm your men with swords, half the swords you have in your army amongst your common men will upon the first march you make be broken with

[1] Cary, ii. 366–7.

[2] 23 March 1654. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 59. Apparently army contractors acquired an evil reputation as soon as they existed.

[3] Monck to Cromwell, 17 April 1655. *Ibid.*, pp. 265–6; cf. 246.

cutting of boughs'.[1] In practice, however, the pike was shorter, sixteen feet or less: its head was guarded by steel bands which extended down the shaft, and thus prevented its excision by an enemy. From many narratives of battles in the Civil War, it is clear that the pike, and not the sword, was the formidable weapon. Mention is often made either of cavalry being repulsed by 'stands of pikes' or of contending infantry coming to 'push of pike'. It would be difficult to find instances of successes won by the 'tuck'.

The musketeer was armed with a matchlock and sword. The matchlock was probably about four feet long in 1642 and very heavy,[2] but became shorter and lighter in course of time. Its leaden bullet weighed an ounce and a quarter, or a little less, and was carried in a pouch. During a battle, however, a musketeer usually kept two or three in his mouth ready for use. The charge was made of common powder, exploded by igniting priming powder with match. This fine powder was contained in a primer, the coarser kind in a flask. Usually a dozen charges were made up and carried in little tubes hanging from the bandolier.[3] Match was made from any kind of cord dipped in vinegar or the lees of wine to make it burn better. The musketeer had in his left hand two or three feet of match,[4] and held the lighted ends between the middle and third fingers, and the third and little fingers respectively. To discharge his weapon he took one end of the match between the thumb and second finger of his right hand, put it in

[1] *Observations*, pp. 26–7.

[2] Its weight may have been an advantage at close quarters, when the musketeer preferred to 'club his musket' rather than to use his sword.

[3] This term was also used to describe the tubes themselves.

[4] A reserve length of match was carried at the belt.

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the cock, opened the pan, pulled the trigger, and thus fired the priming powder.

The great defects of the matchlock were the danger of explosions caused by the match igniting powder either in the flask or the budge-barrels,[1] and the enormous amount of match consumed, because it had to be kept burning in the presence of the enemy. If, as happened to the Scots at Dunbar, infantrymen were caught with their match unlighted, they could not return their enemies' fire. From experience Monck learnt the superiority of flintlocks or snaphanses over muskets, and, as his Order Book shows, equipped as many of his men with them as he had supplies for in Scotland. When four companies of his Regiment were garrisoning the Tower in April 1660 he ordered them to exchange their matchlocks for flintlocks.[2] In addition to arms, tents were provided during campaigns. They were small, one being issued for each file, and were apparently made in sections, each soldier carrying a part.[3]

The duties of a soldier in Scotland were various. After open resistance had been crushed, forts were built to keep the country in subjection. To garrison them was a dreary, monotonous task, abhorrent to the army. Inverlochy was the most unpopular of all these strongholds, except the Orkneys, and the garrison was composed of a company chosen by lot from each infantry regiment,

[1] The regimental reserve of powder.

[2] Mackinnon, *Coldstream Guards*, ii. 238.

[3] Under the heading 'An account of what tents are left in the several garrisons', in Clarke MS. 43, fo. 26, appears the item, 'Atte the garrison of Ayre, 94 and 18 peeces of tents'. We are also told, when the soldiers were expecting a fight at Corstorphine, some of them cast away their tents and biscuits. *Letter from a Collonell*, Terry, p. 472. In 1659, the usual order was 14 tents for each company, which then numbered about 70.

and changed every year. Even with this alleviation service there was almost unbearable on account of its remoteness and severe climate. 'This place affords nothing worth your notice,' wrote an officer, 'unless to tell you of the great storms of wind, rain, hail, frost and snow, some of which we have daily in a large proportion.'[1] Certain police duties also fell to the lot of the army, such as dispersing unauthorized assemblies of the Presbyterian ministers,[2] assisting the commissioners of customs and excise,[3] or enforcing the system for quieting the Highlands, by which every one travelling more than five miles from his abode had to have a pass, and by which a licence was necessary to carry arms.[4] All unauthorized travellers or possessors of arms were liable to arrest and trial by court martial.[5] Moss troopers and other robbers were hunted down by soldiers, though this duty was usually performed by troopers. Occasionally, infantrymen were mounted and employed as dragoons, as the following entry proves:

'Order to Capt. Nicholls to restore all such horse as

[1] R. Baynes to Adam Baynes, 7 December 1658. *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 136. There are plans of the forts at Inverlochy, Inverness, and Ayr in the introduction to *Scotland and the Protectorate*.

[2] Order to Lieutenant-Colonel Gough, 'That whereas many ministers from divers parts of the nation are mett together at Edinburgh and considering these assemblies have of late bin made use of for the unsetling and discomposing of the mindes of the people of the nation rather then any way for the spirituall good of ministers or flock, that hee goe to the meeting place and lett them know that they must departe the towne within 6 houres after warning, and that such as shall bee found in the towne after that time bee secured, and that if they doe meete againe without leave from the Commander-in-Chief that they shall bee secured.' Order Book, 19 August 1654.

[3] Monck's Order Book, 12 November 1658. Order commanding the officer in the nearest garrison to assist John Forbes and other commissioners of customs and excise.

[4] Monck's Order Books are full of entries granting passes.

[5] *Miscellany of Scottish History Society*.

were taken at Edinburgh for the mounting of the foote of Generall Moncke's regiment that are now return'd to the severall owners unlesse they be such as hee hath information to bee any way engag'd against the Commonwealth, and the souldiers to return to their severall companies.'[1]

When the English system of justices of the peace was extended to Scotland, the superior officers were often nominated to act as such, with beneficial results. Major John Hill, writing in 1656, remarks:

'The businesse prospers soe well in our hands as justices of peace in these highlands that I hope (in a short time) wee may contend for civilitie with the lowlands; a loose or broken man or a stranger cannott passe without a sufficient testimoniall under the hand of some officer of the armie, or justice of the peace; fornicators are startled at the punishment some have received, and drunkards begin to looke towards sobriety, and swearers to speake more deliberately; and to conclude this businesse hath the best face uppon itt for good to these countries that ever was exercised amongst them.'[2]

According to a speaker at Westminster in 1659, 'a man may ride all Scotland over with a switch in his hand and £100 in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years.'[3]

Notwithstanding this new era of peacefulness and other benefits which Scotland owed to the army of occupation, the Scots were never reconciled to English rule. As

[1] Lilburne's Order Book, 26 January 1654. From another entry on 3 February, it is clear that the men were used as dragoons. Captain-lieutenant Hughes was also engaged on like service. For other police duties, vide *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, 346–7, 358.

[2] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 321.

[3] Burton, *Diary*, 1828, iv. 168.

Lilburne complained, they had 'a naturall antipathy against us except some few'.[1] His successor re-echoed the complaint three years later: 'The Scots are now as malignant as ever they were since I knew Scotland.'[2] The consequences of this national hatred between the conquerors and the conquered were far-reaching. Because there was little or no fraternizing, the soldiers had to live like aliens in a hostile country. They had to provide their own amusements and society. During the first year of the invasion it seemed as if there might be a commingling of races. Although at the beginning of the campaign in 1650 Scotch women were regarded as 'pitifull sorry creatures, clothed in white flannell in a very homely manner',[3] six months later a newspaper reports that 'our English lads and Scotch lasses begin to mingle geer very orderly, so that there is scarce a day but the bagpipes are heard at a marriage'.[4] Nevertheless, these unions were soon prohibited, and an order threatened with instant discharge any soldier marrying a woman of or in Scotland without a superior officer's consent, and any chaplain performing the ceremony with a court martial.[5] Since no record nor any proceeding at a court martial for

[1] 1 April 1654. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 68.

[2] 8 January 1657. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 347. Cf. Thurloe, vi. 745. As late as 1679 Thomas Kirke describes the Scots as 'perfect English haters'. *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 261. On the other hand, Gumble, p. 157, states that the Scots parted sadly with the forces Monck led to England in 1660, and expressed all the affection imaginable towards them. If this is correct, the soldiers, like Coriolanus, were certainly only loved when they were lacked.

[3] *A large relation*, in Terry, p. 460.

[4] *Mercurius Politicus*, quoted in *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns*, by W. S. Douglas, 1899, p. 213.

[5] *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 334. This order only applied to Fenwick's regiment, but there is no reason to regard it as exceptional. The same rule was enforced in Ireland.

marrying has been found, it is presumed that the proclamation was obeyed. Illicit amours were punished with the utmost severity. On one occasion a guilty pair were sentenced to be coupled together in irons and to receive forty stripes apiece: on another, both parties were given sixty stripes at the cart's tail.[1]

On the other hand, wives were allowed and even encouraged[2] to follow their husbands on active service. An entry in the Order Book shows that this permission extended to the wives of soldiers serving on the continent after Cromwell had concluded his alliance with France against Spain.[3] Another entry shows that wives might accompany their husbands to garrisons.[4] Since none of the plans of the forts constructed during this period show any trace of married quarters, it is probable that huts were occupied. Occasionally women enlisted as soldiers to follow their husbands or lovers, but were discharged when their identity was revealed.[5] Apparently the wives

[1] *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, pp. 14, 17.

[2] In order that they may act as nurses to the sick.

[3] 18 November 1658. Pass for Jane Dent, wife of John Dent, late private soldier in Captain Nicholl's company in Monck's foot, to transport herself to her husband at Dunkirk. Sir John Ross of Bladensburg, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., has kindly supplied the following information: 'The practice of bringing the wives of soldiers into the area of military operations was not by any means confined to the seventeenth century. Women were in the Peninsula, and they moved with Wellington's army to Paris after Waterloo. The last example I know of was in the Crimean War, when women certainly went as far as Varna with their husbands, some even to the Crimea itself. The wife of a Coldstream sergeant gave birth to a daughter (who was consequently called "Euxinia") when on board ship with the army as it was transported from Varna to the Crimean coast.'

[4] On 9 March 1659 Major John Hill, Governor of Inverlochy, was ordered to hold a court martial on a private of Hatchman's company and his wife, who were accused of murdering their child.

[5] *Cromwell's Army*, p. 300.

of officers were less willing to brave the hardships of life beyond the border, for Monck points out that his forces ought to be paid at least as regularly as those stationed in England, 'seeing the greatest part of the officers (here) have their wives in England, by which meanes they are forc't to keepe two houses, and have a long journey to visitt their relations when the service will give them leave'.[1]

Apart from the natural desire to visit absent relatives, the unpopularity of service in Scotland caused leave to go to England to be eagerly sought. Permission was readily given to both officers and men, but more freely to the former than to the latter. The frequent and prolonged absences of officers from their regiment produced many complaints from the Commander-in-Chief. As early as February 1653, Lilburne begged Cromwell 'to dispatch those officers hither that are att London. . . . I could wish your lordshippe would make some of them examples, having outstaid their passes for many monthes.'[2] The evil grew so serious that Monck's instructions limited both the time for which leave could be granted and the number of officers enjoying this privilege simultaneously.[3] His own foot suffered severely from this absenteeism, for he himself was away from Scotland 1652–4, his lieutenant-colonel was only occasionally there after 1654, and his major paid at least one lengthy visit to England apart from his

[1] Monck to Lambert. 3 July 1655. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 289. Gumble in his *Life of Monck*, p. 151, notes that when Monck set out for the border in November 1659, he left 'many officers behind to dispose their families'.

[2] 19 February 1653. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 86; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 191, 240–1. Leave for three months, sometimes extended, is the longest I have noticed in the Order Books.

[3] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 79.

obligatory journey thither in connexion with Overton's plot.[1] On 1 March 1658, the lieutenant-colonel, two captains, and the captain-lieutenant were all absent.[2] It is now time to consider the lot of those on duty in Scotland.

Unless a soldier was at one of the fortresses or other smaller garrisons, he must have lived in a billet with the inhabitants of the place in which he was stationed. When the army was on the march and came to a town, tickets for quarters were issued,[3] and each soldier had to pay for his own billet.[4] When, however, a town had been occupied for some time, a different procedure was adopted, as the following order proves:

'That noe officer or souldier doe quarter themselves without the advice and directions of the respective quarter-master appointed by the citty of Edinburgh, and to referre itt to Lieutenant-Colonel Gough, Major Holmes or any other feild officer commanding the forces which are or shall quarter in Edinburgh to hear and resolve all complaints made about quartering.'[5]

The billets cannot have been very comfortable, if the conditions described by English travellers were typical. Sir William Brereton, a Parliamentary leader in Cheshire during the Civil War, paid a visit to Scotland about fifteen years before the Cromwellian invasion, and his impressions were most unfavourable.

[1] *Infra*, pp. 81–2.

[2] This fact is stated in an address to Cromwell, Appendix IV.

[3] This is an inference based on Gumble's statement that at an unknown village 'some of us got blank tickets for quarters . . . and went in pursuit of a good house'. *Life of Monck*, p. 198.

[4] Monck's Order Book, 4 July 1659. Order that Major Creed's troop is to march into England, and the officers are to take care that the soldiers pay for their quarters in their march.

[5] Lilburne's Order Book, 19 September 1653.

'The sluttishness and nastiness of this people is such', he complained, 'that I cannot ommit the particularizing thereof . . . their houses and halls and kitchens have such a noisome taste, a savour, and that so strong, as it doth offend you so soon as you come within their wall. . . . Their pewter, I am confident, is never scoured; they are afraid it should too much wear and consume thereby, only sometimes, and that but seldom, they do slightly rub them over with a filthy dish-clout, dipped in most sluttish greasy water. . . . To come into their kitchens and to see them dress their meat, and to behold the sink will be a sufficient supper, and will take off the edge of your stomach.'[1]

If English soldiers were as impolite in their comments as travellers, it is little wonder they were not popular with the Scots. Little detailed information is available about the relations between an alien soldiery and the native population, but the following samples of proceedings at courts martial throw some light on the behaviour of those in billets, as well as on their conduct in general. A Scot deposed that four soldiers came to his house, said they had orders to quarter there, and beat the servants for shutting the door against them. Two of them went to the brewsters near his house and returned about ten o'clock, 'being both full'. Then they sat down 'all of them having att supper 5 pintes of ale and a pinte they had before. The deponent said, they should have noe more, whereuppon they broke open the chamber doore and being going to draw the drinke, his wife resisting them, one of them struck her with a pistoll, that they satt uppe and sange, drinking till about midnight.'[2] On another occasion a

[1] P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, pp. 142–3; cf. *ibid.*, p. 254.

[2] *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, p. 42. The ringleader was sentenced to ride the wooden horse an hour with his fault upon his breast, and to receive twenty stripes.

dragoon and six others came to quarter at a house, and after supper the dragoon, being full of drink, sent the servants out for more, beat them when they returned, and then, wanting fuel, burnt the woodwork of the house.[1] A third example is full of interest. A soldier called Thomas Robinson, visiting the quarters of a comrade to warm himself after being on guard, was reproved by a woman for disturbing the landlady, who was ill. Whereupon he called her 'old bitch' and 'Scotch bitch', and said that if the soldiers did not get their pay

'they would make itt a blewer day on the Wednesday following in Dundee then that of the storming of the towne. That the deponent replying "God blesse the lieutenant-general[2] and your officers" for iff itt were nott for them the souldiers would doe them mickle wrange. Whereuppon the said Robinson said that the lieutenant-general had like to have bin kill'd the last yeare att Edinburgh, and itt would bee little better if they gott nott their monie yet. That seeing a little childe there hee said, hee would boyle itt, itt would make good broath, and afterwards, that he would roast itt, that hee would come and drinke the sacke and plunder the house, and kill the woman for reproving him.'

The explanation of this violent language is to be found in the evidence of another witness, that Robinson and others 'were drinking the night before about 10 of the clock their six pence a peece att an house neere the Craige fort'.[3] Since there is a case of theft of 'strong' or 'hot

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 43. Sentenced to ride the wooden horse an hour with two muskets tied to each heel and two pint stoups hung about his neck, with his fault upon his breast: 'For being drunke and abusing his quarters.'

[2] For the general impression among the Scotch that Monck was fair and just in his dealings with them, vide Firth's *Last Years of the Protectorate*, ii. 124.

[3] *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, pp. 60–3.

waters'[1] it is evident that the soldiers had no objection to a change of liquor. To prevent this tippling an order was issued that no man should be out of his quarters nor sit up drinking in his quarters after the tattoo was beaten—probably at ten o'clock.[2]

Another offence which was fairly common was swearing, though the oaths seem relatively innocuous to-day. A corporal was reported by his major as 'more eminently' swearing 'by God' or 'as God shall judge mee', and sentenced to be gagged and ride the wooden horse, with the words 'for swearing' upon his breast. More serious was the crime of Abraham Randall, a soldier in Parker's company in Monck's regiment, against whom his sergeant testified that when the company was drawn up in the church at Dundee, Randall 'being playing and abusing his fellow souldiers, this deponent told him if hee continued in it hee would strike him. To which Randall said, "Doe an you dare, I will strike againe". Whereupon this deponent struck him a box in the eare, upon which Randall struck him againe severall times, till hee was parted by Corporal Bond, but afterwards this deponent being lighting a pipe of tobacco Randall fell upon him againe.' John Browne of Gardiner's company in the same regiment intervened, and said he would have broken his stick over the sergeant's head if he had been in Randall's place.

Both were found guilty. Randall suffered the extreme penalty and was shot, while Browne was led with a rope round his neck through the parade, and given twenty stripes there and another twenty tied up to the gallows.[3] Insubordination was not tolerated in Monck's army.

[1] *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, p. 17. I presume 'strong waters' were either an early kind of whisky or imported brandy.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 33–5.

Apparently Captain Gardiner was the only officer of Monck's regiment cashiered for misconduct before 1659. The nature of his offence may be gathered from a letter of the Commissioners of Sequestrations in Scotland:

'We shall not trouble his highness [Cromwell] at the present with a particular charge concerning Captain Gardiner, only in general, we have found here in Leith several goods of considerable value belongeinge to the late king and earle mareshall (fraudulently taken) which hee had ordered to be sent to London to a private friend of his, one Mr. John Howell, linen-draper, at the signe of the bell on London-bridge. We are certainly informed that captain Gardiner hath sent goods to London formerly, and, it is believed, by a speciall friend of his, that those goods were directed to the above-mentioned Mr. John Howell.' [1]

The ultimate fate of Gardiner is uncertain. Monck, finding him penitent, wished to let him resign his commission and depart without the disgrace of a trial, but being overruled by Cromwell, appointed a court martial, of whose verdict no record seems to have survived. Probably Gardiner was dismissed the service with ignominy: it is certain that he was no longer a captain in 1656.[2]

From an account of the misdemeanours of members of the Regiment, we may turn to a description of their lawful recreations. Curiously enough, a ballad on a woman who served in the ranks supplies the best evidence of the way in which soldiers spent their leisure hours:

[1] Disbrowe and others to William Malyn (Cromwell's secretary), 8 April 1654. Thurloe, ii. 224.

[2] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 100, 101, 107.

For other manly practices she gain'd the love of all,
For leaping and for running[1] or wrestling for a fall,
For cudgels or for cuffing, if that occasion were,
There 's hardly one of ten men that might with her compare.
Yet civill in her carriage and modest still was she,
But with her fellow souldiers she oft would merry be;
She would drink and take tobacco, and spend her money too,
When as occasion served, that she had nothing else to do.[2]

A sportsman might obtain permission to keep a fowling-piece, though it is probable that he used it with the hope of providing a change of diet rather than for his own amusement. Thus a private in Gough's company was given a pass to shoot game in his vicinity,[3] and a major was ordered to take care that the soldiers stationed at Dundee did not kill any hares, pigeons, or partridges, and that no company kept more than two greyhounds.[4] Possibly the colonels imitated Cromwell and went hawking: certainly hawks were carefully sought after.[5] An incidental reference in the *Journal* of George Fox, the Quaker, supplies the information that the officers attended a race meeting,[6] but not a single mention has been discovered of any officer or soldier playing football or golf.

It is much more difficult to discover how the men amused themselves indoors than outside. It may safely be assumed

[1] In the *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, p. 55, is a mention of a race between two troopers for forty shillings.

[2] *The Gallant She-Soldier*, quoted in *Cromwell's Army*, pp. 300–1.

[3] Order Book, 14 December 1658.

[4] Order Book, 23 March 1659. Protections against the pursuit of game by soldiers on the lands of Scots, especially noblemen, were frequently given.

[5] *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 137; *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 82, 96.

[6] i. 405, ed. 1901.

that games of cards were never played, and there is no record of chess. Since most of the men and some of the sergeants were illiterate,[1] they could not wile away their leisure hours reading, though a better educated man may have read out newsletters or pamphlets to his comrades. It is likely that the evenings were generally spent in drinking, smoking, and discussing the day's news, politics, or religion. In all the forts built during this decade a tavern was erected, where, as a minister tells us, 'all manner of wines, viands, beer, ale and cider' could be purchased.[2] The following possibly exaggerated complaint of a gentleman in 1647 can be safely applied to soldiers in billets in Scotland: 'My house is, and hath been full of soldiers this fortnight, such uncivil drinkers and thirsty souls that a barrell of good beer trembles at the sight of them, and the whole house [is] nothing but a rendezvous of tobacco and spitting.'[3]

Among the officers, at least, theology and politics provided the main topics of conversation. It is probable that the rank and file felt little of the intense religious fervour that was so marked in many of their superiors. John Price, chaplain to Monck's regiment, incidentally remarks that 'the soldiers, who troubled not their heads with religion, by abetting parties . . . fought for their pay',[4] and this is substantially true. On the other hand, their officers still retained their old confidence in their ability to find guidance in all matters in the Scriptures, and their

[1] The fact that they attested their depositions at courts martial with a mark proves this.

[2] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. xlv–xlvi.

[3] John Turberville to John Willoughby, 16 April 1647. *Trevelyan Papers*, iii. 257.

[4] Price, p. 712.

old fondness for theological disputations. At a court martial for manslaughter 'that text, Number[s] 35. 22 [was] debated att large by all the officers'.[1] When news of Sir George Booth's defeat in August 1659 reached Monck, he invited the officers at his headquarters to a thanksgiving dinner. Price, who was present, supplies a vivid picture of the way in which a military triumph was then celebrated:

'A very intricate case of conscience was put, before dinner, whether he could be a Godly man, that prayed the same prayer twice. Some were for the negative, but others said they durst not be so peremptory. At dinner the madness continued, and the joy increased, insomuch that, in their jollity, they fell to scoffing at the name of priest: nay, and even the Presbyterian himself would no longer down with him for a Gospel minister, but he had also his leaven of Popery. At last one Captain Poole,[2] of Colonel Fairfax's regiment spake that there could never be a quiet and lasting settlement in these nations, so long as there was a parish-priest or a steeple-house[3] left. Upon which extravancy of thanksgiving-recreations, the general .... in an unexpected indignation, rose from his chair, and spoke to the amazement of all. "Fair and softly," says he, "Captain Poole, if you and your party once come to pluck there, I will pluck with you." Whereupon there was a sudden damp; they were but soldiers before their general, and were silent.'[4]

It is difficult to say to what extent an ordinary private was interested in politics during the Commonwealth and

[1] *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, p. 65.

[2] A violent extremist, who is reported to have told some of Monck's adherents in October or November 1659, 'that if we would have the two idols of Parliament and Ministry, it should cost us bloody noses'. *Faithfull Intelligencer*, 29 November /3 December.

[3] That is, a church.

[4] Price, pp. 721–2.

Protectorate, but there is no doubt at all that officers in Scotland followed eagerly the course of events in London. When the Long Parliament was forcibly dissolved in April 1653, a General Council of Officers at Dalkeith, the headquarters in Scotland, sent to congratulate Cromwell and his supporters on 'a wonderful providence that directed you to so necessary and acceptable a work'.[1] In December of this year Cromwell was installed Protector after the nominated Parliament (often called after one of its members, Praise God Barebones) had resigned its authority and a dissentient minority been expelled. When news of these happenings reached Scotland, Lilburne reported that he found 'nothing heere but union and satisfaction in what is done, and as good a temper amongst the forces as hath bin att any time'.[2] In September 1654 Monck reported that he could not be informed of any officers or soldiers that showed any signs of discontent or dissatisfaction with affairs.[3] Scarcely a month elapsed before Scotland was agitated by the discovery of an obscure plot formed by Levellers to seize Monck and to replace him by Robert Overton,[4] who would, the conspirators hoped, lead an army into England and overthrow the Protectorate. Among the officers sent up to London as suspects, and described by Monck as 'men who are not so well affected to the Government as I could wish', was Major Abraham Holmes.[10] Nothing

[1] *The Humble Remonstrance*, 5 May 1653. *Old Parliamentary History*, xx. 145–7.

[2] 12 January 1654. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 18.

[3] 28 September 1654. *Ibid.* pp. 192–3.

[4] Overton was probably guilty of nothing worse than the failure to inform the Government that papers of a treasonable nature were being circulated. He was imprisoned without a trial as long as the Protectorate lasted.

[5] Monck to Cromwell, 26 Deeember 1654. Thurloe, iii. 46.

prejudicial was discovered against him, so he was restored to his command. At the same time a vindication from the suspicion of taking part in, or sympathizing with this plot, was published on behalf of the 'baptized churches, consisting of officers, soldiers and others, walking in gospell order at Leith, Edinburgh and St. Johnstoun'.[1] Among the signatories were no less than five of Monck's captains—probably nearly all who were then in the vicinity.

An address of the officers in and about the head-quarters in Scotland on behalf of the Vaudois, the victims of a massacre at this time, proves the interest generally felt for continental Protestantism. In it about seventy officers testify their willingness to avenge their co-religionists, and to hazard their lives and fortunes to secure the safety of the dispersed remnant.[2] In the event, Cromwell's diplomatic intervention proved sufficient to prevent further outrages, though no vengeance was exacted for the 'slaughter'd saints', whose hard fate inspired one of Milton's sonnets. The centre of political interest, however, soon shifted back to domestic affairs. Although in England the increased power conferred on the Protector by the *Humble Petition and Advice* caused much dissatisfaction, and led to a mild purgation of the army there, in Scotland there were no signs of any similar dislike of the new form of government. Monck's regiment, among others, sent Cromwell a dutiful address, in which he was assured of their obedience and willingness to assist him in the establishment of peace and righteousness.[3] The accounts of the proclamation of the second

[1] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 242–3.

[2] 6 June 1655. Clarke MSS. loose papers.

[3] This address is printed in Appendix IV as a specimen.

Protectorate, and of Richard Cromwell's accession to his father's office, illustrate the sentiments of the soldiery, and, incidentally, of the populace. On the first occasion we are told that at Edinburgh, 'of 5 or 6,000 Scottsmen that were present, nott one Scotchman open'd his mouth to say "God blesse my Lord Protector", butt the souldiers gave severall acclamations'.[1] On the second, at Inverlochy, 'there was much expression of joy with great shouting', both by the people and soldiers.[2]

[1] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 362. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 384–5.

V

THE RESTORATION

HITHERTO, the intervention in politics of Monck's army had been confined to polite expressions of acquiescence in what had already been decided at Whitehall. This attitude survived even the death of Oliver Cromwell, and was unchanged so long as his eldest son retained his power. On the other hand, from the commencement of Richard's Protectorate in September 1658 to its close in May 1659 there were murmurings in the English army against his retention of the command of the forces, and petitions that Fleetwood should be made general with authority to grant commissions, and that none should be cashiered except by sentence of court martial.

There were few or no signs of similar discontent in Scotland, where the loyal address to Richard was unanimously signed by the officers.[1] Monck, however, was careful to prevent officers and soldiers from holding any meetings for political discussion.[2] 'As for the forces heere,' he wrote, 'the army was never quieter, nor in better condition, since I commanded heere; and I doubt nott by the helpe of God to keepe them soe; for I have given them command nott to meddle with petitioning businesse, nor state businesse; and I am confident they

[1] Thurloe, vii. 411, 414, 416, 446.
[2] *Ibid.*, 452.

will observe itt, as I have found them ready to doe itt. Our onely want heere is of monie.'[1]

In England, on the other hand, the dissensions in the army grew apace, and an accidental quarrel between Whalley, a firm supporter of Richard, and Ashfield, a rigid supporter of a Commonwealth, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Gough was concerned, materially contributed to accentuate the difference between the officers who wished to maintain and those who wished to destroy the Protectorate.[2] When Monck received information, he wrote to Thurloe, the Secretary of State:

'I am sorry to heare that any of the Scotch officers should be acting to divide and distract you. I could wish you had written to mee the names of them. I heard of Collonel Ashfield and my lieutenant colonel; and if there be any more, I shall desire to heare their names, and I shall write to them. If they were heere, these two could signifie but a little, as little as any two officers in Scotland; but I could wish his Highnesse would command them away to their commands, which I thinke would bee the best course. As to what they are pleased to say, that the rest of the forces in Scotland are of their opinions, I assure you, that they are much deceived; for there are no forces can be quieter then these are, and shall be satisfied with any thinge his Highnesse and Parliament shall settle.'[3]

There was no doubt of Monck's perfect loyalty to the Protector, nor of his ability to keep his army in subjection, but no appeal for intervention reached him from Whitehall so he passively awaited the course of events.

[1] Thurloe, vii. 616. 17 February 1659.

[2] Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 61–2; *Leyborne Popham MSS.* 1899, pp. 114–15.

[3] 22 March 1659. Thurloe, vii. 631.

When he heard that Richard had been forced by the army to dissolve Parliament, his sole comment to Thurloe was: 'I am very glad, that since soe great an alteration you continue in peace.'[1] On receipt of the news that the General Council of Officers had decided to recall the Long Parliament, forcibly dissolved in 1653, he set his name to a congratulatory address in which this was hailed as 'the greatest and happiest prognostick of our future peace and establishment that ever our eyes yett beheld'.[2] Another letter, couched in a Republican strain, and containing many reflections on the memory of Oliver Cromwell, was dispatched to the Speaker.[3] In a further communication Monck assured the new Committee of Safety that he would do his utmost to give them satisfaction by the faithful discharge of his duty, and added that his army was very unanimous and in good temper.[4] It is doubtful whether Monck was now expressing his real sentiments, and probable that he disapproved of the intervention of the army in politics, but felt that it was useless to try to save Richard Cromwell in his own despite.

Monck himself soon had reason to regret the change of government, for the Long Parliament entrusted a committee of seven with authority to nominate all officers in the three kingdoms, subject to the approbation of Parlia-

[1] 3 May 1659. Thurloe, vii. 667.

[2] 12 May 1659. *Ibid.*, 669–70. Holmes, Morgan, and Winter were also signatories. Mention is made in the *Commons' Journals* for 9 May 1659 of a letter (apparently not extant) from Monck to Fleetwood urging the recall of the Long Parliament.

[3] *Old Parliamentary History*, xxi. 414–17; Whitelock, *Memorials*, iv. 346–48.

[4] *Clarke Papers*, iv. 10. Richard Cromwell's formal submission to the re-establishment of a republic, apparently signed on 14 May, is printed in the *Commons' Journals*, vii. 664.

ment.[1] This body at once began to examine the lists of officers of each regiment, dismissing the former supporters of the Protectorate and substituting men of extreme views. When Monck learnt of the appointment of this committee, he wrote to the Speaker to request that no alterations should be made in his officers,

'being they were soe free and forward for the returning of this Parliament to their former station, and for the setling of the government of this Commonwealth without a single person or House of Lords. I doe nott know one commission officer of these forces butt was very free to itt, and I am soe confident of their faithfulnesse to the present governement that I shall engage for their fidelity to itt against all opposers; butt in case the house shall nott thinke fitt to grant my request for all the regiments heere, I shall make itt my earnest desire that for my owne two regimentes and Colonel Talbott's, being the regimentes that have layne neerest mee, and the officers more particulerly knowne to mee then the rest, that there may bee noe change in these three regimentes.'[2]

Instead of granting this reasonable request the Commons sent Monck a discourteous reply that it was essential to select such officers as would be faithful to the Commonwealth, and that possibly Parliament was a better judge than he of their fidelity.[3] Monck's answer is very

[1] *Commons' Journals*, vii. 650–1. Of the seven Charles Fleetwood, John Desbrowe, and James Berry had supported Oliver Cromwell throughout his Protectorate; John Lambert had been forced to resign his commission in 1657 after a personal quarrel with Cromwell; and Sir Arthur Heselrige, Sir Henry Vane, and Edmund Ludlow were thorough-going Republicans, who had been in opposition since 1653.

[2] 2 June 1659. *Clarke Papers*, iv. 16–17.

[3] 10 June 1659. *Commons' Journals*, vii. 680. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1659, p. 19.

important, because it furnishes the clue to his conduct throughout this troubled year.

'I hope I was not misunderstood in my desire,' he wrote, 'as if I should endeavoure to protect persons that were either scandalouse or disaffected, the discipline of the army haveing been soe seeverely exercised in this country since my resideing heere, and my conscience is a witnes to and of my integrity (whatsoever men may judge) that I am none of those that seeke great things, haveing had my education in a commonwealth where souldiours received and observed comands, but gave none.[1] Obedience is my greate principle, and I have alwaise, and ever shall, reverence the Parliament's resolutions in civill things as infallible and sacred.'[2]

In spite of this dignified language, however, the chagrin Monck felt at the unmerited rebuke he had received was evident.

Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, the actual changes proposed by Parliament in the composition of the officers of his two regiments were few. The captains of his horse were left untouched, except that Robert Glynn, whose dismissal he had secured about March 1655 for disaffection,[3] was replaced.[4] As regards his foot, all the existing company commanders were retained, except that the majority was left vacant by the promotion of Holmes to be lieutenant-colonel in Roger Saurey's regiment. All the lieutenants had been in the Regiment since March 1658: there were possibly three new ensigns, but the chaplain,

[1] Monck served for about eight years in the Dutch armies.

[2] 18 June 1659. *Clarke Papers*, iv. 22–3.

[3] *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 257, 260.

[4] The committee of seven contemplated more extensive changes (*Clarke Papers*, iv. 39), but were presumably overruled by Parliament, whose list is printed in *Commons' Journals*, vii. 781–2. Cf. Gumble, pp. 101–2; *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1659, p. 183.

ILLVSTRISSIMO AC GENEROSISSIMO D.N° D.N° GEORGIO DUCI
ALBEMARLIÆ. COMITI de Torrington BARONI MONCK de Potheriage.
Beaucamp et Teyes. AUGUSTISSIMO CAROLO II.do MAGNÆ
BRITANNIÆ FRANCIÆ et HIBERNIÆ REGI etc ab Intimis CVBICVLIS,
et Sanctioribus CONSILIIS. CAPITANIO GENERALI. Omnium; Sacræ Regiæ
MAJESTATIS in Regnis Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ. Exercituum SUMMO DUCI.
Magnæ Stauda. Magistro. et Equiti Ordinis Aureæ PERICELIDIS EQVITI etc
Hanc ipsius Effigiem manu sua auream delineatam et cælatam submisso cultu D.D.D. D. Loggan. A° 1666

XI. GEORGE MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

From Loggan's engraving in the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library

surgeon, and quartermaster remained unchanged.[1] Gumble, Monck's chaplain and biographer, remarks of the Committee of Nominations that 'all men of sober and quiet principles they universally endeavour to turn out of their commands, and all such as were turbulent and Anabaptistical, they place in their rooms'. Of Monck's Regiment of Foot, Gumble's comment is: 'They could not have put it in more violent persons' hands than many of those were.'[2] This is, no doubt, one explanation why practically no alteration was effected in Monck's Foot: another is the necessity of conciliating him in view of the increasing tension between Parliament and the army leaders in England.

When the members of the Long Parliament assembled on 7 May 1659, there was no real agreement between them and the army leaders as to their respective powers. The imminence of a Royalist insurrection united the civilian and military Republicans for some months. When, however, Lambert crushed Sir George Booth's forces near Northwich on 23 August, all immediate danger to the Republic was removed, and its supporters soon began to quarrel amongst themselves. About the middle of September Lambert's officers held meetings at Derby, and drew up a petition to Parliament, in which they demanded that he and others should be made general officers, and that all concerned in the recent insurrection should be severely punished. When the House voted that any more general officers were unnecessary, another petition embodying

[1] *Commons' Journals*, vii. 742. The list for March 1658 is supplied by the signatories to the address in Clarke MS. 30, which is probably not quite complete, in Appendix IV.

[2] Gumble, pp. 99, 101–2.

these and further demands was prepared. Whereupon Parliament cashiered Lambert and eight other officers, and appointed seven commissioners to govern the army. Two regiments endeavoured to act as a guard for the House, but were persuaded to withdraw by Lambert, whose adherents forcibly prevented any members from entering Parliament (13 October). This second military expulsion completed the breach, which had begun in 1653,[1] between the civilian and military supporters of a Commonwealth and was now to ruin 'the good old cause' which both had at heart.

A second military revolution within six months of the first was more than Monck could stand. He had already refused to support the petition which was the immediate cause of the quarrel between the Rump and the officers.[2] He plainly informed the army leaders that 'finding many officers (in Scotland) decline the signing all papers of that nature, and rather propense to declare their testimony to the Parliament's authority, and their absolute adherence thereunto, I have thought it my duty to suspend the execution of your desires'.[3] When news reached him that the Parliamentary session had been brought to an abrupt conclusion, he determined to act. His many letters state the reasons for his intervention. A fixed belief in the duty of soldiers to obey the civil power from which they obtained their commissions, a hearty dislike of an arbitrary government by the sword, and an unwillingness

[1] When Oliver Cromwell turned out the Long Parliament for the first time.

[2] *Clarke Papers*, iv. 58–9.

[3] 13 October 1659. *Clarke Papers*, iv. 61 note. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 58–9 for Monck's circular letter to the commanders in Scotland to prevent any petitions to Parliament being signed.

to submit to the lawless purposes of a few ambitious leaders in London were Monck's guiding motives.[1]

Before he could hope to march into England to restore the authority of Parliament, he had first to remove the disaffected in his own army. According to Phillips, he was 'most diffident of his own regiment of foot (which during his absence in the Dutch war had been so transformed that most of the officers were become Anabaptists) and the three regiments in Glasgow, Aire and St. Johnston's'.[2] He therefore resolved to begin the purgation of his forces starting with his own regiment of foot. Lieutenant-Colonel Gough and Major Holmes were both absent, so he ordered the senior captain, Morgan, to draw up his regiment in Edinburgh, and to take care that no match, powder, nor ball was issued. At the same time he caused Talbot's regiment, on which he could rely, to be drawn up with full fighting equipment. He himself came with an escort of a troop of his horse, and proceeded to remodel his regiment. Morgan was made lieutenant-colonel and Nicholls major. He displaced all the officers whom he could not trust, and imprisoned such as he considered dangerous.[3] He then addressed the officers of both regiments, and told them he was resolved to make the military power subservient to the civil and to support

[1] See, for example, *Clarke Papers*, iv. 70, 75–6, 90.

[2] John Cobbett's, Roger Saurey's, and William Daniel's.

[3] According to *A Letter from a Person of Quality in Edinburgh* (Thomason Tracts, 669, f. 21 (86), quoted by Mackinnon, ii. 73–5). Parker, Hatchman, Wells, and 'all the rest of the Anabaptist officers (except Groome and Walton)' were secured after Monck's speech. I think it more probable they were arrested previously: otherwise the unanimity is hard to explain. Mackinnon (i. 72) quotes a newspaper to the effect that Monck imprisoned several of his officers in Tantallon Castle—probably only temporarily. Heath, *A Brief Chronicle* p. 757, confirms this newspaper account.

Parliament against all opposition, and that he expected their concurrence and assistance. But if any were dissatisfied they were at liberty to leave the service and would be given free passes for England. Whereupon all unanimously declared to live and die with him.[1]

Monck's purging of his own regiment of foot was certainly drastic. In *Mercurius Politicus* for 24 November/1 December 1659 is a 'list of the officers that either have deserted General Monck, or that upon his declaring (being in England) have refused to return to their charges'. It is not quite complete but contains the names of five company commanders, five lieutenants, an ensign, the quartermaster, five sergeants, three corporals, and the gunsmith. No other regiment lost so many non-commissioned officers, and only Corbett's lost more officers. These figures prove conclusively that Monck's foot was composed of Anabaptists, but the writer previously quoted is incorrect in ascribing the presence of these extreme sectaries to the measures taken to recruit the Regiment during Monck's absence at sea. Most of the officers who now deserted or were cashiered had been in the Regiment at the time of its formation in 1650, and had previously acquired their fanaticism.[2] It is impossible to speak with much confidence about the non-commissioned officers, but it is probable that the veterans were the most intractable. The only direct evidence of this is an entry in the Order Book that William Cox, sergeant to Captain George Walton, who served in various capacities for fourteen

[1] Phillips, *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle*, ed. 1674, p. 612.

[2] See Appendix V, for the careers of Gough, Holmes, Parker, Hatchman, and Walton, who now refused to support Monck. To these should be added Captain Benjamin Groome.

years, be now discharged at his own request.[1] This company seems to have been thoroughly disaffected, for in addition to Walton and Cox, Lieutenant Wilson and Ensign Lawrence also deserted. Generally speaking, the captain seems materially to have influenced the politics of his subordinates, for the lieutenants of five of the six disaffected company commanders shared their views. It is difficult to explain why, amid so much desertion, the ensigns remained more loyal than their superior officers, but probably they had joined the army as a profession comparatively recently, and had thus escaped contact with the extreme democracy and theology of 1647 and the following years. It is at least certain that five out of the ten ensigns of the regiments in July 1659 retained their commissions, and in many cases received promotion, after the Restoration. This is true of only three of his captains and three of his lieutenants.

Unfortunately, none of Monck's officers committed to paper the reasons why he now quitted his charge, but the actions of Gough and Holmes prove that they were determined to maintain the supremacy of the army at all costs. Gough co-operated with Lambert and others in London and signed the army manifestoes,[2] while Holmes, after evading arrest, proceeded to try to organize the defence of Ayr, and then to secure Carlisle against Monck's adherents.[3] The three captains, Hatchman, Parker, and Walton seem to have taken out their passes and quietly retired to England.[4] Possibly a letter from

[1] 1 November 1659. There is an order for the same day to stop the pay of all officers of Monck's army who remained in England.

[2] *Old Parliamentary History* xxii; *Clarke Papers*, iv.

[3] Phillips, p. 683; Mackinnon, i. 75.

[4] Order Book, 1 November 1659.

Robert Scrope, a captain in Overton's regiment, in which he explains his feelings, is of general application. After informing Monck that hitherto he had received no satisfactory explanation of the interruption of Parliament, he proceeds:

'I cannot find my heart to be drawn out so far to engage against them (the army in England), as it hath been against those which they and we have been engaged together against, the great enemys of England's peace. Indeed, my lord, it is so sad to me when I do think upon it that my heart is almost overwhelmed within me, that we which have prayed together, took counsel together, fought together, obtained victories together, and rejoiced so often together, I say that we, which have been thus together, should be anywise provoked each against the other so nigh to engage one another's heads and hands for the fighting one against another to the destroying of each other, which through God's mercy the common enemy was not even permitted to do, but in all their attempts was worsted.'[1]

The choice was truly a hard one, and those who refused to follow Monck are not lightly to be despised. They were certainly lacking in political foresight, and inspired by religious fanaticism. They had no desire to establish democratic government, but sought to impose a system utterly abhorrent to the vast majority of the people. Nevertheless, the discharged officers embodied far better than their successors the essence of the Cromwellian army. Many of them were the 'honest men' who 'served faithfully' at Naseby, Dunbar, and Worcester. They believed in all sincerity that their successes in the field proved that they belonged to what Cromwell called 'a peculiar

[1] 14 November 1659. *Leyborne Popham MSS.*, pp. 126–7.

people', 'a people who are to God as the apple of His eyes', and that they had thus a right to coerce an untoward generation. 'The people are always bad judges of what is best for themselves', said a Republican in March 1660; and the people must therefore be compelled to accept what the army thought fit.[1] Moreover, they differed from their comrades who remained loyal to Monck rather in their choice of methods than in the ends they sought. Both sections desired religious liberty, but whereas the one thought that this could only be safeguarded so long as the army retained its supremacy, the other was willing to subordinate it temporarily to the cause of political freedom in the hope that a way might yet be found to reconcile the two. And if neither their religious ideals nor their political extravagances command sympathy, a tribute of respect may yet be paid to these veterans of an invincible army, unique in its moral discipline.

The political objects of Monck and his supporters at the end of the year 1659 are not easy to discern. Probably Monck himself had no definite ideas as to the political future of England after he had achieved his ostensible aim—the restoration of the Long Parliament.[2] He steadfastly refused to listen to any overtures from the Royalists, and was careful to denounce 'the common enemy' in all his proclamations. Indeed, he had little

[1] Robert Lilburne expressed the most extreme opinion I have met with in the remark, 'that he hoped never a true Englishman would name the Parliament again, and that he would have the house pulled down where they sat, for fear it should be infectious'. *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1659–60, p. 295.

[2] His letter to the Lord Mayor on 12 November probably expresses the literal truth: 'I take God to witness I have no other end than to restore the Parliament to its former freedom and authority, and the people to their just rights and liberties.' *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 47.

option, for if he had declared for Charles II in October 1659, nine-tenths of his army would have deserted him. Though he had weeded his forces with great severity, yet he still had to use the utmost circumspection to retain their confidence. For this purpose he organized a regular propaganda to instruct the rank and file, submitted all his decisions to a Council of Officers, and left the initiative to them as much as possible. 'It was a pleasant sight', Gumble relates, 'to see the general at the end of the table, in a room full of officers, putting the question (as many as consent to this proposition, "Hold up your hands", which was their ceremony of assent) and then an ensigne to make a long speech to the contrary (who was but started from a corporal the other day). . . . But though he submitted to these forms, yet he kept an absolute authority by the prudence and artifice of those he trusted, but did it by way of councel and perswasion. And though he was good at driving, yet he was forced to lead gently.'[1] It was not until he was actually on the march to London that he began 'to govern the army more monarchically and omitted all general councils of officers'.[2] Nevertheless, he could not rely upon implicit, unreflecting obedience until the course of events had made the restoration of the Monarchy plainly necessary and inevitable.

Nearly two months elapsed from the day on which Lambert turned out the Rump to the time when Coldstream became the headquarters of the army in Scotland (8 December). This interval was essential for the success of Monck's plans, because he had both to remodel his

[1] Gumble, p. 140; cf. *ibid.*, 128–9, 154. See Appendix VI for Monck's propaganda.

[2] Gumble, p. 202.

forces [1] and to provide opportunity for public opinion in England to make itself felt. He therefore welcomed overtures from Fleetwood and Lambert for a treaty, and drew up instructions for his representatives with the concurrence of his Council of Officers.[2] These commissioners exceeded their authority when they signed an agreement in London by which the cases of all officers displaced since 11 October were to be determined by a tribunal nominated jointly by the armies in England and Scotland.[3] When Monck received a copy of the agreement, he read it with intense disappointment, gave it to his officers, and retired without a word. His subordinates fully realized what was at stake, for if they tamely accepted this treaty 'his honour the colonel must sink down into a captain, and the captain shrink into an ensign, and the ensign return to his halbert'.[4] Self-interest, however, was not the sole or even the predominant motive that influenced them, for they realized that such a treaty really meant the continuance of the rule of the army under a new disguise, and this they were determined to end.[5] Accordingly, when Monck summoned a Grand Council of Officers and declared 'If the army will stick to me, I will stick to them', all present concurred in rejecting the treaty, and swore to live and die with their general.[6]

Although further negotiations were continued to prevent an immediate rupture, in reality the die was now cast, and Monck began to assemble his forces near the border. At

[1] He is said to have displaced one hundred and forty officers. Price, p. 742.

[2] 4 November 1659. *Clarke Papers*, iv. 96–9; Phillips, pp. 684–5.

[3] 15 November. Phillips, p. 689. [4] Price, p. 741.

[5] Parliament was to be constituted and summoned in such manner and form as a General Council of the Army and Navy should agree upon.

[6] Gumble, pp. 152–3.

three o'clock of the morning of 8 December he marched out of Berwick, and took up his quarters at Coldstream, whither a regiment of foot had preceded him and eaten up all the victuals. The general was content to chew his tobacco ('that he used to commend so much'), but such cheer did not satisfy the hunger of his companions, who fell to 'reviling the poor town, and vowed it was justly called Cold-stream, being a place for good Christians to perish in'.[1] According to another member of the army, 'at Coldstream our first entertainment was suitable to the name, no sutlers being as yet come to us, and no shambles to be found'.[2] Even when the army had settled down the conditions were scarcely endurable. 'The general's palace was a little smoaky cottage that had two great dunghills at the door, an hall or entry as dark and narrow as a man could not turn in it; the rooms were worse than I can describe. . . . The best fare that was there was lean mutton and as bad poultrey, and the ale, brewed over night and rich liquor the next day, drank with good commendation.'[3] And yet this town 'because the general did it the honour to make it the place of his residence for some time, hath given title to a small company of men whom God made the instruments of great things; and though poor, yet honest as ever corrupt nature produced into the world, by the no dishonourable name of Coldstreamers'.[4]

Doubtless the glad tidings that reached the Coldstreamers almost daily helped them to bear their severe privations. From every quarter came news proving that Englishmen had cast aside their lethargy and had resolved

[1] Gumble, p. 162.
[2] Price, p. 744.
[3] Gumble, pp. 177, 179.
[4] Gumble, p. 175.

to resist an uncontrolled military tyranny. In London all requests for loans by the Committee of Safety were refused, and the Corporation as well as the apprentices demanded a free Parliament. There the soldiers were so 'vilified, scorn'd and hissed that they were ashamed to march,[1] and many officers, when they went into the City, durst not wear swords for fear of affronts'.[2] The soldiers were asked in public prints whether they would wage war merely for the sake of 'self-seeking men set over us, who by our means were raised from the meanest mechanicks to Lord-like inheritances'.[3] Faced by this manifestation of almost universal hatred, they felt reluctant to fight to promote their leaders' ambitious designs, and openly said they would remain neutral and make a ring for their officers to fight in. The example of London was imitated elsewhere. The garrison of Portsmouth declared for the restoration of the Long Parliament on 3 December, and the troops sent to subdue them went over to their side. Ten days later the navy followed suit. Simultaneously the commanders of the army in Ireland, who had supported Lambert, were seized and displaced by adherents of Monck (13 December). Fairfax raised Yorkshire, and was joined by the brigade which had crossed from Ireland at the time of Booth's rebellion. Lambert, who had assembled a considerable force in Northumberland to oppose Monck, realized that the game was up, and sullenly withdrew. Fleetwood in London, expressing his sentiments in a characteristic phrase, 'that God had spit in their faces', bowed to the inevitable, and permitted the

[1] Against Monck. [2] Phillips, p. 693.

[3] *The Sentinels Remonstrance or The Vindication of the Souldiers to the People of this Commonwealth.* By W[illiam] B[ray], London, 1659.

Rump to reassemble for the third and last time on 26 December.

Meanwhile Monck, who had been nominated Commander-in-Chief in England as well as in Scotland by a few members of the old Council of State meeting in secret,[1] was patiently waiting on events. Whereas lack of funds compelled Lambert's men to live at free-quarters, and led many to desert, the contrast on the other side of the border was striking. Thanks to a supply of money previously accumulated with great foresight, Monck was able to pay his men regularly, and prevent plundering. 'I dare be bold to averr it,' wrote one of his officers, 'that there is not a souldier in the Parliaments army in Scotland that dares inforce one cup of ale or a morsel of bread from the proper owner, without reasonable satisfaction for the same.'[2] During the period spent at Coldstream every effort was made to convince all ranks of the justice and righteousness of their cause. On 21 December a day of humiliation was kept at the Church at New Coldstream by the general and a great concourse of officers and men, 'in order to the fitting of themselves for what further work the Lord might call them to, and for the lamenting of the bleeding and afflicted condition of these three nations'.[3] Monck had now complete confidence in the fidelity of his men, and told the Speaker that his army on the Tweed was very cheerful and unanimous, and willing to endure any hardship. Most of the vacant commands had been filled by honest men, 'ready to die for your service or to disband

[1] 24 November, confirmed by Parliament 26 January 1660. *Clarke Papers*, iv. 137–9.

[2] *Mercurius Britanicus*, No. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 5; *Clarke Papers*, iv. 207.

at your command'.[1] When news arrived of the restoration of the Rump, the march south immediately began.

On 2 January Monck crossed the Tweed and proceeded as far as Wooler.[2] The weather was bitterly cold throughout the journey, but the redcoats cheerfully waded through snow knee-deep, for after nearly ten years' absence they were marching homewards. The next day the army came to the village of Whittingham, where the soldiers had to lie on the ground through lack of shelter. Morpeth was reached on the 4th, where friendly addresses were received from the Common Councillors of London. On the 5th the army arrived at Newcastle, lately Lambert's headquarters, whose unpopularity was attested by the cheering crowds that greeted his successor. The next stage was to Durham (6th) and thence to York[3] (11th), where a halt was made for five days. Here Monck had a secret conference with Fairfax, and remodelled several of the regiments lately serving under Lambert. He was careful to shroud his plans in obscurity, publicly cudgelled an officer for declaring that he meant to restore Charles Stuart, and ordered his colonels to deal in like manner with any similar offenders.

On the 15th he resumed his journey, and came to Nottingham[4] four days later, where he and his brother-in-law Clarges composed a letter to Parliament, urging that the soldiers then in London should be dismissed to

[1] 29 December. *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 40–1.

[2] The authorities for Monck's march are his Order Book, which gives the dates on which his headquarters were at the different towns he passed through (the foot were often several days' march in the rear), Phillips, Gumble, and Price. My narrative is based on these authorities except where it is otherwise indicated.

[3] Via Darlington (7th), Northallerton (9th), and Topcliffe (10th).

[4] Via Ferrybridge (15th), Langold (17th), and Mansfield (18th).

widely scattered quarters, some companies here and some there, so that it would be impossible for even a regiment to unite quickly to oppose whatever Parliament should determine.[1] After a few days' rest he proceeded to Leicester (23rd), where his emphatic declaration against any attempt to restore the Monarchy attracted general attention.[2] His outspoken language was due to the necessity of conciliating the Rump, who had sent two uncompromising Republicans, Scot and Robinson, to attend him. At Market Harborough (24th) he was presented with an address in favour of the excluded members of Parliament, but Scot insisted on replying to it, and vehemently denounced any such proposal. Monck gladly suffered Scot to be his mouthpiece, for he never had greater difficulty in dissembling his intentions than on this journey.[3] This attitude of reserve was maintained at Northampton (25th), whence he marched to St. Albans (28th).[4] Here he received information that the Rump had accepted his plan for distributing the soldiers now in London into distant garrisons. This was a most valuable point gained, because it gave him control of the capital, relatively of greater importance then than now. On 2 February he moved to Barnet, and prepared to enter London the next day.

Throughout this memorable journey Monck had been greeted at every town with the ringing of bells and congratulatory addresses, but he had kept his own counsel, and none knew his intentions. 'He is now the most powerful

[1] Phillips, pp. 701–3. The letter was not dispatched until 28 January, from St. Albans.

[2] *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 68. This was in answer to an address from Devonshire.

[3] Phillips, p. 703.

[4] Via Stony Stratford (26th) and Dunstable (27th).

subject in the whole nation', was the French Ambassador's comment. 'All parties now cast their eyes upon him, and each fancies that he is favourable to it.'[1] The uncertainty was not cleared away when he approached London. Consequently when he marched through Chancery Lane and the Strand to take up his quarters at Whitehall he was received with shouts for a free Parliament, but little other welcome,[2] though the martial appearance of his men attracted general admiration. 'The foot had the best arms and were the likeliest men that ever I saw', was one spectator's verdict. 'All the officers had red and white favours in their hats, and his trumpeters and foot boys a red livery, laced with silver lace.'[3]

Monck lost no time in proving that he was not ignorant of the current of public opinion. In his speech to Parliament on 6 February he informed the members that the many addresses he had received on his route had convinced him that the people desired first the admittance of the victims of Pride's Purge in 1648, and then a speedy dissolution.[4] Such plain speaking was extremely distasteful to the Rump, which remained blind to the signs of the times. Others were more discerning, and were resolved to rid themselves of the intolerable burden of a perpetual Parliament, now wholly unrepresentative. The Common Council of London took the momentous decision not to pay any more taxes until the excluded members were permitted to take their seats. The Rump could not ignore this challenge to its authority. It declared the Common Council dissolved, and ordered Monck to reduce

[1] Guizot, *Monk*, translated by A. R. Scoble, pp. 156–7.
[2] Pepys, *Diary*, 3 February 1660. [3] *Leyborne Popham MSS.*, p. 144.
[4] 6 February 1660. *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 88–90; Phillips, pp. 704–5.

the City to obedience by marching thither in order to remove the gates and portcullises, and to arrest ten leading citizens.[1]

On 9 February Monck undertook this unpleasant task, but 'never did soldiers with so much regret obey their general; obeyed, indeed, he was, but with scorn to them who commanded their commander . . . our officers of note ran wholly into discontent, and offered up their commissions to the general. But he was dark and chewed his tobacco. But no accident of war could have more fully assured his army unto him, for now the Parliament was detestable even to us their restorers.'[2] Great crowds beheld in sullen silence the work of demolition.[3] When it was half finished Monck suggested to Parliament that they should now stay their hands, and, instead of exasperating the City, should try conciliation. Nevertheless, the Rump was resolved to fill up the cup of its iniquity, and ordered him to complete the destruction.[4] Once again he obeyed, and the City gates were burnt without opposition. The citizens, however, were not overawed, and bluntly informed Monck that they were resolved rather to submit to the pillage of their houses than to pay taxes not levied by a free parliament. Then he returned to Whitehall, vexed at the perversity of the Rump in rejecting his attempted intercession, and indignant at the distrust of him evinced at Westminster, where votes were passed transferring the command of the

[1] R. R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, 1894, ii. 364–8.

[2] Price, pp. 762–3.

[3] Bourdeaux to Mazarin, 9–19 February. Guizot, *Monk*, p. 169. According to a Royalist account, Monck received 'some peals of curses to his face, and many strange censures in private'. *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 674.

[4] *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 92–3.

army to five commissioners, of whom three were his opponents.[1]

Now began what a Royalist truly called as wonderful a story as could be met with in literature. For that very night some of his chief officers came to Monck and expostulated with him on the folly of obeying a Parliament which was resolved to ruin him after destroying his popularity. They urged that they had not marched from Scotland to render themselves odious to the whole nation, and they preferred to lay down their commissions rather than continue in such a course. Their complaints, we are told, were not unwelcome to their general, who resolved to support the City and demand a free Parliament. Accordingly a somewhat peremptory[2] letter was drawn up, signed by fifteen officers, and dispatched to Westminster, reminding the members that the object of the expedition from Scotland was not only their return but also the vindication of the liberties of the people. Wherefore it was essential that writs should immediately be issued to fill up vacancies in the House and a day fixed for the dissolution, so that the people might have an assurance of a succession of Parliaments of their own election, the undoubted right of the English nation.[3] As soon as this letter was finished, Monck marched his men into the City and took up his quarters there. The significance of his action could not be mistaken. Only six

[1] Bourdeaux to Mazarin, 12–22 February. Guizot, *Monk*, pp. 170–1.

[2] The Republican Ludlow states that no man had ever before addressed Parliament in so insolent a manner. *Memoirs*, ii. 221.

[3] The letter is dated 11 February, and is reprinted in the *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 98–103. For the discussions preceding its dispatch, see Guizot, *Monk*, p. 171; *Leyborne Popham MSS.*, p. 218; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 692; Phillips, pp. 707–8; Gumble, pp. 242–6; Price, pp. 761–6.

days previously one of the ablest Royalist agents had written that 'Monk hath already pulled off his mask, and is clearly republical'.[1] Now at long last Hyde ventured to hope that great things would result from this miracle.[2] In the City the trend of opinion was obvious. The scene is well described by Pepys. When the news of Monck's letter was known in Westminster

'it was very strange how the countenance of men in the hall was all changed with joy in half an hour's time. So I went up to the lobby, where I saw the speaker reading of the letter; and after it was read, Sir A. Haselrigge came out very angry, and Billing[3] standing at the door, took him by the arm, and cried, "Thou man will thy beast carry thee no longer? thou must fall!"' Then Pepys went to the Guildhall and met Monck coming out after telling the Mayor and Aldermen he would stand by them. 'Such a shout I never heard in all my life, crying out, "God bless your excellence" .... I saw many people give the soldiers drink and money, and all along in the streets cried, "God bless them!" and extraordinary good words.... But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen!'

Everywhere there were bonfires and people burning and roasting rumps. Indeed, as Pepys said, 'it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it'.[4] From being cursed as tyrants, the redcoats were now

[1] Mordaunt to the King, 5 February. *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 670.

[2] Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) to Sir Henry Bennet, *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 693. Cf. Colepepper's letter to Nicholas of 17 February, in which he despairs of a Restoration without the assistance of a foreign army. *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1659–60, p. 367.

[3] A well-known Quaker.

[4] *Diary*, 11 February. Cf. Guizot's *Monk*, pp 172–4. *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 114–15; Gumble, p. 250; Christie, *Life of Shaftesbury*, i. 208–9; *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1659–60, p. 358.

XII. SIR ARTHUR HESILRIGE

From a portrait in the possession of his descendant,
Sir Arthur Hazlerigg

hailed as deliverers. Money was thrown to them most profusely, 'as if now there would be no more occasion for it, but that the Golden Age swiftly approached'.[1] Hospitality to excess was offered them, and most of them, we are told, were drunk from morning till night.[2]

Monck, however, never lost his head. Although he must have realized that a freely elected Parliament would at once restore the Monarchy, he never showed his hand. Unwilling to imitate Lambert and use force to get rid of the universally execrated Rump, he decided to achieve his ends by the readmission of the excluded members. Before taking even this step, he secured the acquiescence of his officers, and conferences were arranged between them and representatives of the excluded and sitting members.[3] Finally, on 21 February, the survivors of Pride's Purge took their seats in sufficient numbers to outvote the Rump. Even at this stage Monck found it necessary to speak of a settlement without a King, Single Person, or House of Lords.[4] Public opinion, however, ignored his words but approved his acts, and rejoiced accordingly. 'It was a most pleasant sight', wrote Pepys, 'to see the City from one end to the other with a glory about it, so high was the light of the bonfires, and so thick round the City, and the bells rang everywhere.'[5] When the House ordered that the Solemn League and Covenant, which implied a monarchy, should be read in

[1] Heath, *A Brief Chronicle*, p. 754.

[2] Pepys, 13 February.

[3] Gumble, pp. 260–2; Phillips, pp. 709–10; *Clarke Papers*, iv. 264. Apparently these conferences were on 17 and 18 February.

[4] See his speech and declaration to Parliament in the *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 140–3, and the circular letter of his officers, *ibid.*, pp. 170–2. A Single Person, meant a Protector like Cromwell.

[5] *Diary*, 21 February. Cf. Guizot, *Monk*, pp. 182–3.

every Church, the diarist noted that 'everybody now drinks the King's health without any fear whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it'.[1]

On the other hand this eagerness for a Restoration was not shared by the soldiery. Some of Monck's officers took alarm, and wished to draw up a declaration in favour of a free Commonwealth and to send it to Parliament for its acceptance. A debate was held between ten officers and ten members of Parliament, and an incipient mutiny was only quelled by Monck's firmness, who told them 'he brought them not out of Scotland for his, nor the Parliament['s] council; that for his part he should obey the Parliament and expected they should do the same'.[2] When Parliament ordered that the engagement to be faithful to a Commonwealth should be taken off the file, Monck's officers made a last effort to avert the Restoration. They again demanded a declaration against a King and House of Lords, but were quieted with some vague assurances. Monck finished the discussion with the remark that 'nothing was more injurious to discipline than their meetings in military councils to interpose in civil things'.[3] He soon proceeded to exact from his forces a promise to submit to whatever the new Parliament should enact. The pledge they had to sign is worth quoting:

'We shall according to our duties, carry and behave ourselves as officers of an army instructed by your example

[1] *Diary*, 6 March. Cf. *Calendar of State Paper, Dom.* 1659–60, p. 393.

[2] These discussions were on 7 and 8 March. *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 695–6; *Nicholas Papers*, iv. 205; Guizot, *Monk*, p. 91; Ludlow, ii. 240–1; Pepys, 8 March, where mention is made of a 'general damp over men's minds and faces' upon this proposed declaration against Charles Stuart.

[3] Phillips, pp. 715–16; Guizot, *Monk*, pp. 193–5. These meetings were on 14 and 15 March.

and discipline to obey and not to dispute the orders of our superiours, and shall freely and readily observe such commands as we shall receive from your Excellency, or the Council of State, or the Parliament when assembled. And in particular we shall, according to the late proclamation of the Council of State of the 17th of March, decline any meeting or meetings for the contriving or carrying on of any declaration or subscriptions concerning affaires of state or government, thereby avoiding those mischiefs which made many lately in arms so justly distastful to the people, by making themselves a divided interest from the rest of them.'[1]

This promise was kept by Monck's forces, who gave no assistance to Lambert's last desperate attempt to re-establish the Commonwealth in April. The few adherents Lambert obtained, and their dispersion without fighting, showed that even the army recognized that the Restoration was inevitable. The Declaration of Breda offered the payment of all arrears, and promised liberty for tender consciences, and thus helped to reconcile the soldiery to the return of Charles II. On 25 May the exiled monarch landed at Dover, where he was received by Monck 'with all imaginable love and respect'. Royalist writers[2] of the time assert that the King was received with loud shouts and rejoicing when he reviewed the army at Blackheath on his way to London, but the cheering was probably rather a tribute to Charles's affability than a sign that the unconditional restoration of the Stuarts was welcomed.

A contemporary reflected on the peculiar characteristic

[1] Phillips, p. 719. It is said that of the soldiers of the regiments Monck led from Scotland only two declined to sign this promise, *ibid.*, p. 720.

[2] Heath, for example, states that Charles' 'many gracious expressions' to the soldiers 'were answered by loud acclamations'. *A Brief Chronicle*, p. 766.

of the restoration of Charles II, that it was brought about 'without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him'.[1] This constitutes Monck's claim to greatness, for though the Restoration was inevitable once Cromwell was dead, a third civil war might easily have preceded it. This was avoided because Monck was content to wait upon events until the torrent of public opinion was irresistible, and because he alone, with the exception of Cromwell, was able to enforce his will upon the soldiers he commanded. As a military administrator and disciplinarian he has had few equals, and to his ability in these respects his success was due. By an astute mixture of firmness and duplicity he brought an army, which, if it had captured Charles II in 1659, would assuredly have demanded that he should share his father's fate, to acquiesce in the return of the exiled monarch. He himself was loaded with honours, but his army received no more than its due. Parliament fully shared that hatred of military rule and dread of a standing army, which are permanent legacies of the Puritan Revolution, and eagerly voted supplies for disbanding the forces still in existence. But for the unexpected difficulty in subduing an insurrection in London of thirty or forty Fifth Monarchy men headed by Venner, who were not dispersed until four days had elapsed, the English army of to-day would have no connexion with the New Model. Owing to this small band of fanatics the Cromwellian army bequeathed one regiment to His Majesty's forces. It was called the Lord General's Regiment of Foot-Guards in 1661, but soon adopted the name at first applied generally to the army Monck led from Scotland in 1660—

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*, 29 May 1660.

the Coldstreamers.[1] It is fitting that this survey of the early history of the Coldstream Guards should close with an account of the formal incorporation of the Regiment into the standing army of Charles II by commissioners named for the purpose.

'Sir William Doyley, William Prynne, Esquire, Colonel Edward King, and Colonel John Birch (4 of the Commissioners), sent from Westminster in a Coach to Tower Hill, about ten of the Clock on Thursday the 14 of this Instant (being Valentines Day) where the Lord Generals Regiment of Foot and Lifeguard appearing with their Armes before them, they ordered 5 Companies of the Foot to draw up in a ring about Mr. *Prynne*, and the other 5 about Colonel *Birch*; who made two short Speeches to them to this effect—

That God had highly honoured them in the eyes and hearts of the King and Kingdom; yea, and made them renowned throughout the World and to all Posterity, in stirring them up to be eminently Instrumental in the happy Restauration of his MAJESTY to his Royal Throne, the Parliament to their Privileges, and our whole three Kingdoms to their ancient Lawes, Liberties and Government, without any Battel or blood shed. For which signal Services his Majesty and the whole Kingdom returned them not only their verbal but real thanks; the King having freely given them one weeks Pay by way of Gratuity over and above their Wages, and the Parliament and Kingdom provided moneys for the Payment of their just Arrears Stated in their respective Accounts, which upon their disbanding should be forthwith paid for their use into their Officers hands; That this Regiment, as it was the first of all the Army who promoted his Majesty's glorious Restauration to his Crownes, so it hath this Signal badge of honour now put upon them to be the last

[1] In Clifford Walton's *History of the British Standing Army 1660–1700*, 1894, is an interesting note on the early appellations of the regiment (p. 3, n. 7). I have not found a single use of the term "Coldstreams" in any military record of the period.

Regiment disbanded: And although they were ordered and declared to be disbanded in relation to the Kingdoms Pay, yet they were immediately to be Advanced to his Majesties Service, as an Extraordinary Guard to his Royal Person, whom God long preserve in health and happiness.

Which Speechs being ended, they all cryed out with reiterated shouts and acclamations, *God save King CHARLES the Second*, Waving and throwing up their Hats, displaying their Ensignes, beating their Drums, and discharging their Muskets over and over, till Commanded to draw off to their respective Colours, when they were all called over and disbanded by Mr. *Prynne*, Colonel *King* and Colonel *Birch*; Mr. *Prynne* causing all those 4 Companies he disbanded, to lay down their Armes at his feet, in Testimony of their disbanding, and then to take them up again as entertained by his MAJESTY in service.'[1]

[1] *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 7. 14–21 February 1661.

XIII. THE FUNERAL ARMOUR OF GEORGE MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

From the armour preserved in Westminster Abbey

APPENDIX I

RALPH WELDON'S OR THE KENTISH REGIMENT.

In November 1643 Parliament passed an Ordinance for associating Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire together for their mutual defence and preservation.[1] New forces were then raised, and amongst them the regiment of Colonel Ralph Weldon, sometimes called 'the Kentish regiment'.[2] Little is known about the previous military careers of the colonel and his subordinates, but it is clear that some of them at least were not novices in the art of war. Nicholas Kempson, the lieutenant-colonel, had held the same rank in Sir William Springate's regiment (probably of the trained bands of Kent), and had taken part in the Arundel expedition, together with William Master, now major but then a captain under Springate, and Edward Scott, now a captain, who had formerly led a troop of horse auxiliaries.[3] One of Weldon's captains, Thomas Wyvell, had had a wider experience, having been successively a lieutenant in Lord Brooke's regiment, which especially distinguished itself at Edgehill, a lieutenant and then a captain in Sir John Northcote's regiment with Stamford's army, and finally, in December 1643, had delivered his company to Major Ferres in Tuthill Field to recruit Stamford's regiment at Gloucester.[4] The rest of Weldon's officers are mere names.

The regiment seems to have been raised and equipped by the end of February 1644, for on 1 March it was ordered to march to Sir William Waller's quarters in Sussex and to obey his orders.[5]

After all danger of Royalist aggression in the south-east had

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vi. 294; *Portland MSS.*, i. 162–3.

[2] To be distinguished from the new Kentish regiment commanded by John Birch. *Military Memoirs of Colonel John Birch*, p. 14; *Calendar State Papers, Dom.* 1644, pp. 476, 506. Weldon was the eldest son of Sir Anthony Weldon, author of the characters of English sovereigns entitled 'A Cat may look at a King'.

[3] List of Kentish officers taking part in the Arundel expedition in *Exchequer Papers*, 130. For the expedition itself in December 1643, see C. Thomas-Stanford's *Sussex in the Great Civil War*, ch. vi, and G. Hillier's *The Sieges of Arundel Castle*, 1854.

[4] *Exchequer Papers*, 32.

[5] *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1644, p. 32.

been removed by the battle of Cheriton, the Committee of Both Kingdoms decided to employ the armies of both Essex and Waller for a campaign against the forces led by Charles I in person. Waller as before fixed his rendezvous at Farnham, and there he was joined by Weldon at the beginning of May 1644. When he had some nine or ten thousand horse and foot under his command, Waller began his advance. After pursuing a roundabout route, Waller came up with Essex's army which he followed across the Thames at Abingdon, as far as Nuneham Courtney. But Waller soon returned to try to hem in the Oxford Royalists from the west side. To get across the river it was necessary to go back through Abingdon, where the market cross was destroyed by some Puritan bigots, and to capture New Bridge. According to the narrative of one present, 'two files of each company were drawne out for a forlorne hope, Captain Gore of the Hamlets and a captain of the Kentish regiment leading them on, which they did with such willingnesse and courage, as deserved to bee remembered and admired, for notwithstanding the enemy had cut of parte of the bridge, and made it impassable, yet our commanders with a boat or two called punts and some plankes fell on so bravely that they made them forsake the bridge, tooke 30 prisoners upon quarter and 40 more among which were divers Irish, and a woman who was whipt and turned away'.[1]

Then followed a long and devious pursuit of Charles I and his more mobile forces, during which Waller and Essex ceased to co-operate, the latter marching into the West to relieve Lyme. Waller, after chasing the King for a month, came up with him near Banbury, though the river Cherwell flowed between the two armies. However, on 29 June Waller seized Cropredy Bridge, which gave its name to the battle that ensued, and at once sent a strong body of horse and foot across the Cherwell to cut off Charles's rearguard which lagged behind the rest of the army. At first all went well. Waller's forces, wrote one of them, 'marched out venterously and charged the enemie who retreated to the main body. Our forces following them were overmatcht and so lost some men and some drakes[2] with there colours; the rest were forced to retreat and came over a bridge called Crapridden, crying "the field's lost, the field's lost". But by

[1] *An exact dyarie or a brief relation of the progresse of Sir William Waller's Army*, by Richard Coe, 1644. Thomason Tracts E. 2 (20).

[2] Light field guns, probably three-pounders. *Cromwell's Army*, p. 150.

God's providence and the courage of the Kentish regiment and the citie Hamlets, we got downe two drakes to the bridge and staved them off so bravely, and gave them so good play all day, that ere night they could not brag of their winnings.'[1]

After this success, Charles marched into the West to encounter Essex, and Waller was left unmolested. On 2 July he joined a heterogeneous force mainly composed of militia under Browne, which had been hastily assembled at Towcester to bar any attempt the King might make on London. Nevertheless, the union gave no strength, for the trained bands in both armies were tired of warfare and reluctant to serve beyond the limits of their own counties. However, the arrival of some money, long overdue, enabled Waller to set off again on a false scent after Charles, whom he believed to be making for the North. 'I am of opinion', he wrote, 'before this business is done, we shall be the longest winded army in England.'[2] After a week's hard marching in the Midlands, Waller arrived back at Towcester in the belief that Charles meant to invade the eastern counties.[3] Then followed some fruitless marches round Oxford, but his army refused to continue in the field. 'The Londoners will not stir one foot further, except it be towards home', complained their commander.[4] Sir Michael Livesey's Kentish horse deserted Waller, but apparently the foot remained obedient. Browne's men were even more insubordinate. They 'are so mutinous and uncommandable', Waller reported, 'that there is no hope of their stay; they likewise are upon their march home again. Yesterday they were like to have killed their major-general, and they have hurt him in the face; such men are only fit for a gallows here and a hell hereafter.'[5] Plainly nothing could be done with such men, so Waller was ordered to hand over to Browne three of his regiments, of which Weldon's was one, to form the garrison at Abingdon, while he himself was to march to the relief of Essex, now penned in at Lostwithiel.[6]

This arrangement was only temporary, and Weldon was soon back in Kent. His regiment was badly in need of recruits, for it was reduced to 200[7]—probably the deserters were more

[1] Richard Coe's *An exact dyarie*. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1644, pp. 293–4, 305, 316; *Military Memoirs of Col. Birch.* p. 12; and Gardiner, I. 362.
[2] 3 July, *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1644, p. 303.
[3] 13 July, *ibid.*, p. 347.
[4] 20 July, *ibid.*, pp. 362–3.
[5] 7 July, *ibid.*, 324, 326.
[6] 13 August 1644, *ibid.*, p. 425.
[7] Waller to Committee of Both Kingdoms, 6 September, Farnham: 'There

numerous than the casualties. Apparently it never received its proper quota of recruits, for after it had accompanied Waller from Farnham to Blandford, it numbered less than 300, and was sent to garrison Poole.[1] Later in the year it was transferred to Weymouth, where it stayed until its return to Kent to prepare for the new campaign[2]. This was not to take place until the regiment had been incorporated in the New Model army, when it soon ceased to have any distinct connexion with Kent.

APPENDIX II

Clarke MS. 41, fos. 118–19.

The grievances of the souldiers in generall of Collonell Lilburnes regiment.

1. That it does appeare to them that there is reall intente in the Parliament to disband this army without any visible care taken for the payment of their whole arreares.

2. That their expectationes are not soe fully satisfied as they hoped for from the honorable Houses of Parliament in that an Act of Indempnitie is not perfected according to their desires nor any sufficient provision made for future securitie.

3. That there hath not to their knowledge any thing been done in their vindication [against] severall aspertiones lately lade upon them by the declaration against their petition nor any one thing thereof granted which they expected in the whole to be really performed to them.

4. That though they conceive it to be their just right and freedomes not to be prest forth in the service of other kingdomes, they having served freely hitherto in defence of their owne, yet they knowe not of any provision hath been made for the secureing of them from presses.

Henry Lilburne.
Gabriel Earwood.
John Topping.
John Mason.

[*c.* 14 May 1647.]

are yet wanting 300 recruits out of Kent for Col. Weldon's regiment, which even then would not muster more than 500.' *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1644, p. 476.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 502.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* 1644–5, pp. 234, 239.

APPENDIX III

Worcester College. Clarke MS. 43, fo. 1.

ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE FORCES IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND OF THE 20 OCTOBER 1652.

	By the day. £	s.	d.
Field and Staff Officers.			
Colonel		12	0
Lieutenant-Colonel		7	0
Sergeant-Major		5	0
Preacher		6	8
Quarter-Master and Provost-Marshall		6	8
Waggoner		3	0
Gunsmith and one mate		4	4
Drum major		1	8
	2	6	4[1]
A Colonel's company.			
Captain		8	0
Lieutenant		4	0
Ensign		3	0
Four sergeants each at 1*s.* 8*d.*		6	8
Four corporals and two drums each at 1*s.* 2*d.*		7	0
Gentleman of the armes			4
200 soldiers each at 10*d.*	8	6	8
	9	15	8
A Lieutenant-Colonel's company.			
Captain		8	0
Lieutenant		4	0
Ensign		3	0
Three sergeants		5	0
Three corporals and two drums		5	10
gentleman of armes			4
160 soldiers	6	13	4
	7	19	6

[1] In the MS., £2 19*s.* 0*d.*

A Major's company.

Captain		8	0
Lieutenant		4	0
Ensign		3	0
Three sergeants		5	0
Three corporals and two drums		5	10
Gentleman of armes			4
140 soldiers	5 16	8	
	7 2	10	

A Private company.

Captain		8	0
Lieutenant		4	0
Ensign		3	0
Two sergeants		3	4
Three corporals and two drums		5	10
Gentleman of armes			4
100 soldiers	4 3	4	
	5 7	10	
Six such companies	32 7	0	

In all for one regiment £65 11*s.* 10*d.*[1] or £1836 11*s.* 4*d.* for a month.

Public Record Office, London. Commonwealth Exchequer Papers 48.

By vertue of an order of both Houses of Parliament bearing date the 6th of August last past ordering that a gratuity according to the proportion of one monthes pay be forthwith provided and freely bestowed uppon the noncomissioned officers and private souldiers of horse, foote and dragoones of the army, these are to desire you forthwith out of the thirty two thousand pounds sent downe for payment of the sayd monthes gratuity to pay unto Colonel Lilburne the some of one thousand sixty one pounds eight shillinges eight pence being 28 dayes pay for two chirurgions mates, gunsmith and mate, drum maior, twenty four sargents, thirty one corporalls, twenty drumes, tenn gentlemen of armes,

[1] This total includes £2 19*s.* 0*d.* for the first item, not £2 6*s.* 4*d.*

noncomissioned officers, and nine hundred seventy six private souldiers, according to a muster taken the 9th of August last and for soe doeing this warrant with a receipt under the hand of Maior Hobson shall be your sufficient discharge. Given under my hand this 6th of October 1647.

Fairfax.

[? To the Treasurers at War.]

Commonwealth Exchequer Papers 48.

Att the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Army, November 12, 1647.

Ordered

That Sir John Wollaston Knight and the rest of the Treasurers at Warr doe out of such moneys as are or shall come to theyr hands for the army pay unto Benjamin Lewes, a private souldier under Captain George Weldon in ye regiment of Colonell Ralphe Weldon of foote, all such entertaynment as is due unto him, in regard of the wounds which he hath receaved in the service, whereby he is disabled from further service. And this with the acquittance of him ye said Benjamin Lewes shalbe their sufficient warrant and discharge.

Robert Scawen, John Venn, Tho. Hodges, Tho. Perry, Wm. Leman.

[Receipt signed with a mark.]

Thees are to certifie that Benjamin Lewis a private soldier in the company sometymes Captain Mundon's after Captain George Weldon's in Colonel Weldon's regiment is in arreare upon the severall musters following, viz.

28 dayes pay muster				14 July 1645	18	8
14	„	„	„	11 August	9	4
14	„	„	„	22 December	9	4
14	„	„	„	16 February 1646	9	4
14	„	„	„	30 March	9	4

In all amounting to the sum of two pounds and sixteen shillings.

Examinatur per Geo. Bilton Clerke to the Treasurers at Warr.

Commonwealth Exchequer Papers 73.

These are to desire you forthwith out of ye money remaining in your hands, ordered to be sent downe for payment of ye forces under my command in Scotland to pay unto Maior Holmes the somme of one thousand, one hundred and ten pounds fourteen shillings and sixpence upon accompt, being for 28 days pay for the officers and souldiers in Colonell Monck's regiment of foot, according to ye muster of the nineth of September last with the allowance of two pence per diem for each non-comission'd officer and private souldier for billett money and addiconall pay according to ye resolves of parliament of ye 12th of May last. And for soe doing this warrant together with ye said Major Holmes receipt shall be your sufficient discharge

Given under my hand ye 21st of December 1650

O. Cromwell.

[? To the Treasurers at War.]

APPENDIX IV

ADDRESS TO OLIVER CROMWELL, LORD PROTECTOR.

Clarke MS. 30, fo. 35.

May it please your Highnesse.

Whereas formerly wee (with the rest of the officers and souldiers of your army in this nation) had severall occasions to make our addresses to you, in which together with our actions to this instant, we have expressed our faithfulness to your highness, the which we believe you are assured of, by which we might have been prevented from troubling you thus at this tyme. But this seeming to be a day of reproach and division threatening further trouble and confusion to these nations by that strengthening and incouragement the common enemie receive by that advantage our intestine discords gives them, to promote their designes which if accomplished will unavoidably be the utter ruine of that cause and interest which your highnesse hath so fully declared for, and we have followed you in, wherein also God hath so eminently owned and prospered you, that the blessed effects

thereof we (with the rest of the good people of these nations) doe enioy, and have abundant cause to blesse God for. These and the like considerations have moved us anew to manifest that we stand resolved to attend your highness commands in the faithfull discharge of the duties of our places, for the defence of your person, and the securitie of the peace of this Commonwealth in the pursuance of that great interest we stand engaged in to the uttmost hazard of our lives against the tumultuous insurrections that may hereafter be raised by the enimies of your highness and the peace of these nations. And that you may be assisted with power from on high for the perfecting of that good worke you stand interested in for the establishment of righteousness and peace amongst us, and that the same presence may attend you which formerly appeared with you in your acheivments in the high places of the field is the earnest desire and prayer of us, the commission officers of the right honourable the Lord Generall Monck his regiment of foote who are

your highness most humble and faithfull servants,

George Monck, Abra: Holmes, Ethelbert Morgan, Ben. Groome, Geo. Parker, Rog. Hatchman, G. Walton, Joseph Fellow, J. Mansfield, Jo. Wells, Nicho. Parker, Tho. Powell, Ja. Willson, John Rooke, August. Richards, John Price, chapl., Fra: Nicholls, Thomas Coodwing, John Clearke, Robert Barowes, John Harrison, Roger Lawrence, Nicholas Predy, Henry Dennis, John Painter, Robert Winter.

My Lord,

The officers absent of your lordships regiment is

Lieutenant-Colonel William Gough.
Captain Francis Nicholls.
Captain Rich. Hughes.
Captain-Lieutenant William Downes.
Lieutenant Chr. Browne
Ensign Wm. Underhill } at Lochaber.

[1 March 1658.]

APPENDIX V

LIST OF OFFICERS 1645–61.

THERE is no complete register of commissions extant for the years 1642–61, and no reason to believe that one ever existed. It is necessary, therefore, to make use of many different sources in order to compile a list of officers. The surnames of the original captains of the New Model are printed at the end of Joshua Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, and Rushworth, volume vii, supplies the names of the officers who volunteered for service in Ireland in 1647. The *Commons' Journals* and the *Calendars of State Papers, Dom.* 1659 and 1659–60 give lists of officers drawn up by the Committee of Nominations and approved by Parliament in 1659. In Charles Dalton's *English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661–1714*, volume i, is a complete list of the officers of the Coldstream Guards in 1661.

Apart from these printed lists, I have had to rely on manuscript authorities, and casual references in pamphlets, letters, and similar documents. These manuscript sources are firstly, the Clarke MSS., and secondly, a very miscellaneous collection of documents in the Public Record Office, known as Commonwealth Exchequer Papers. The Clarke MSS. include: 'A Catalogue of Commissions granted forth to the several Regiments since the 14th of June 1647' (MS. 67), which contains the names of officers appointed during 1647–50, but does not say who held commissions on 14 June 1647; three lists of Monck's quarters in 1656, 1657, and 1658 respectively, which name all company commanders of the regiments in Scotland and state where they were stationed;[1] the address printed in Appendix IV supplies the names, but not the ranks, of all officers in Monck's regiment in 1658; lists of the officers in the army after Monck had remodelled it in 1659–60 are in Clarke MSS. 52, 53. The Commonwealth Exchequer Papers consist of about 260 bundles of documents of various kinds. About the first 120 contain warrants for payments[2] to regiments

[1] The list for 1656 is in Clarke MSS., loose papers, whence I edited it for the *Scottish Historical Review*, October 1923; those for 1657 and 1658 are in Clarke MS., 51, fos. 18, 55.

[2] The signatures to the receipts are of the greatest value for determining questions of identity. The discovery of two absolutely different signatures made it clear that William Gough, Monck's lieutenant-colonel, was not William Goffe the regicide.

or to individuals, and are often accompanied by statements of service for which arrears were due. These cover the whole period 1641–59. About the first sixty (extending to May 1649) have been rearranged and mounted, and are easily accessible. The remaining parcels each contain papers relating to several months, are not arranged, and are only accessible if thought fit for production by those responsible for their safe custody. Parcels, numbered 124 and 125, contain muster rolls for 1647–50, mainly of regiments stationed in the north of England, and enabled me to construct the very complete list of Hesilrige's regiment. The other parcels consist for the most part of papers of various county committees, of which those of Kent (130) and Yorkshire (138) were the most useful.

List of Officers 1645–61.

Lloyd's, then Herbert's, regiment, 1645.

Colonel Walter Lloyd, d. 1645, succ. by William Herbert.
Lieutenant-Colonel James Gray.
Major Thomas Reade.
Captain ? Wilks, d. 1645.
„ ? Gettins, d. 1645.
„ Richard Lundy.
„ Benjamin Wigfall, d. 1645.
„ John Melvin.
„ John Spooner.
„ Nathaniel Short.
„ Thomas Cooper, who succ. one of the captains slain in 1645.

Herbert's, then Overton's, regiment, 1646–7.

Colonel William Herbert, succ. by Robert Overton 1647.
Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reade, who succ. Gray 1646.
Major John Wade.
Captain Richard Lundy, succ. by William Knowles 1647.
„ John Melvin, succ. by William Gough 1647.
„ John Spooner.
„ Nathaniel Short, succ. by Thomas Hughes.
„ Robert Reade.
„ Edward Orpin.
„ ? ?

Overton's, then Fenwick's, regiment, 1648–50.

Colonel Robert Overton, succ. by George Fenwick, May 1649.
Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reade.
Major John Wade, succ. by Robert Reade.
Captain William Knowles.
„ William Gough.
„ Thomas Hughes.
„ Edward Orpin.
„ John Spooner.
„ Robert Reade, promoted as above.
„ ? ?

Weldon's regiment, 1645–6.

Colonel Ralph Weldon.
Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas Kempson.
Major William Master.
Captain Christopher Peckham.
„ James Fenton.
„ John Francklin.
„ Francis Dorman.
„ Jeremiah Tolhurst.
„ ? Munday, succ. by George Weldon.
„ ? Kaine.

Lilburne's regiment in 1647.

Colonel Robert Lilburne.
Lieutenant-Colonel ?
Major Paul Hobson.
Captain James Fenton.
„ Henry Lilburne, ? succ. by — Mitchell.
„ Abraham Holmes.
„ Gabriel Earwood.
„ Jeremiah Tolhurst.
„ Robert Hutton.
„ ? Haynes.

Hesilrige's regiment, 1648–1650.

Colonel Sir Arthur Hesilrige.
Captain-Lieutenant Henry Goodyear, succ. by John Mason.
Ensign Robert Hurlston, succ. in July 1650 by Timothy Leving.

Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Hobson.
Lieutenant John Turner, succ. by Nathaniel Strange.
Ensign Nathaniel Strange, succ. by John Fisher.

Major Jeremiah Tolhurst.
Lieutenant Ralph Baldwin.
Ensign Oliver Blisse, succ. by John Mudge.

Captain Richard Deane, succ. by Henry Mason.
Lieutenant Francis Nicholls.
Ensign Edward Swallow, succ. by John Gardner.

Captain James Hart.
Lieutenant Edward Boon.
Ensign Henry James, succ. by Micha King.

Captain Gabriel Earwood, succ. by James Rose.
Lieutenant James Rose, succ. by Joseph Simpson.
Ensign Joseph Simpson, succ. by John Blank.

Captain Abraham Holmes.
Lieutenant Bartholomew Davis.
Ensign Ralph Walton.

Captain Ethelbert Morgan.
Lieutenant Thomas Cartwright, succ. by William Indigo.
William Indigo, succ. by William Dyke.

Captain Robert Hutton.
Lieutenant John Mason, succ. by Henry James.
Ensign Edward Toll.

Captain John Topping.
Lieutenant John Bramston.
Ensign John Turner, succ. by George Jones.

Monck's regiment.

1650.

Colonel George Monck.
Lieutenant-Colonel William Gough.
Major Abraham Holmes.

Captain James Rose, d. 1651.
„ James Hart, d. 1651.
„ Ethelbert Morgan.
„ Francis Nicholls.
„ John Gardiner
„ John Robins, d. 1651.
„ ? ?

1651.

Colonel George Monck.
Lieutenant-Colonel William Gough.
Major Abraham Holmes.
Captain Ethelbert Morgan.
„ Francis Nicholls.
„ John Gardiner.
„ Benjamin Groome.
„ George Parker.
„ William Powell.
„ ? ?

1652–4.

Colonel George Monck.
Lieutenant-Colonel William Gough.
Major Abraham Holmes.
Captain Ethelbert Morgan.
„ Francis Nicholls.
„ John Gardiner.
„ Benjamin Groome.
„ George Parker.
„ William Powell.
„ Roger Hatchman.

1655–8.

Colonel George Monck.
Lieutenant-Colonel William Gough.
Major Abraham Holmes.
Captain Ethelbert Morgan.
„ Francis Nicholls.
„ Benjamin Groome.
„ George Parker.
„ Roger Hatchman.
„ George Walton.
„ Richard Hughes, succ. by William Downes.

1659.[1]

Colonel George Monck.
Captain-Lieutenant Robert Winter.
Ensign William Brangman.

Lieutenant-Colonel William Gough.[2]
Lieutenant Joseph Fellow.[2]
Ensign John Rooke.[2]

Major[3] ?
Lieutenant Robert Carter.[2]
Ensign John Saunders.

Captain Ethelbert Morgan.
Lieutenant John Painter.
Ensign James Hubberd.

Captain Francis Nicholls.
Lieutenant Thomas Mansfeild.
Ensign Thomas Goodwin.[2]

Captain George Parker.[2]
Lieutenant John Wells.[2]
Ensign John Clarke.

Captain Benjamin Groome.[2]
Lieutenant Nicholas Parker.[2]
Ensign Robert Burrowes.[2]

Captain George Walton.[2]
Lieutenant James Wilson.[2]
Ensign Roger Lawrence.[2]

Captain Roger Hatchman.[2]
Lieutenant Augustine Richards.[2]
Ensign John Harrison.

Captain William Downes.
Lieutenant Christopher Browne.[2]
Ensign William Underhill.

Chaplain John Price.
Surgeon Nicholas Preddy.
Quarter-master Henry Dennis.[2]

[1] The list drawn up by the Committee of Nominations and approved by Parliament.

[2] Deserted Monck (or cashiered by him) in October or November 1659.

[3] No successor to Abraham Holmes was named.

1659–60.

Colonel George Monck.
Captain-Lieutenant Ellis Cooper, succ. 12 November 1659 by John Painter.
Ensign Daniell Smyth, succ. 21 November 1659 by Ralph Bourchier.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ethelbert Morgan.
Lieutenant John Painter, succ. 12 November by Thomas Godwin.
Ensign Richard Rewcastle.

Major Francis Nicholls.
Lieutenant John Saunders.
Ensign John Cobb.

Captain Benjamin Groome, succ. by John Miller.[1]
Lieutenant Nathaniel Foster,[1] succ. by Robert Cooper.[1]
Ensign David Basenett.

Captain George Walton, succ. 31 October by John Mutloe.
Lieutenant Thomas Figes, vice Wilson.
Ensign John Baker, vice Lawrence.

Captain William Downes.
Lieutenant William Underhill, vice Browne.
Ensign Michael Adersey.

Captain Robert Winter, vice George Parker.
Lieutenant James Hubbart, vice John Wells.
Ensign John Clarke.

Captain John Collins, vice Roger Hatchman.
Lieutenant John Harrison, vice Richards.
Ensign Thomas Figge.

Captain Thomas Mansfield, vice William Gough.
Lieutenant Joseph Fellows, succ. 31 October by John Rooke.
Ensign John Rooke, succ. 31 October by Daniell Court.

Captain John Peters.
Lieutenant William Brangman.
Ensign Thomas Godwin, succ. 12 November by William Mackrath.

Quartermaster and Marshall Richard Fox, ? app. 24 October, succ. 8 November by Richard Collins.
Chaplain John Price.
Chirurgeon Nicholas Predy.

[1] John Miller had been a captain, Nathaniel Foster a lieutenant, and Robert Cooper an ensign in Colonel Hughes's regiment.

1661.

Colonel George Monck, Duke of Albemarle.
Captain-Lieutenant John Clarke.
Ensign John Waller.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ethelbert Morgan.
Lieutenant John Painter.
Ensign John Huitson.

Major Francis Nicholls.
Lieutenant John Saunders.
Ensign John Cobb.

Captain Samuel Clarke.
Lieutenant John Harrison.
Ensign Thomas Figg.

Captain John Mutlow.
Lieutenant Thomas Figg.
Ensign John Baker.

Captain Robert Winter.
Lieutenant James[1] Hubbord.
Ensign Ralph Butcher.

Captain William Downe.
Lieutenant Richard Rewcastle.
Ensign Michael Aldersey.

Captain John Miller.
Lieutenant Robert Cooper.
Ensign Edward Bassnett.

Captain John Peters.
Lieutenant William Brangman.
Ensign William Mackerith.

Captain Thomas[2] Mansfield.
Lieutenant William Dyke.
Ensign Daniel Court.

Quartermaster and Marshall Richard Collins.
Chaplain John Price.

[1] Samuel in Mr. Dalton's list.
[2] John in Mr. Dalton's list.

APPENDIX VI

PROPAGANDA IN MONCK'S ARMY IN 1659.

In his *Life of Monck*, Gumble states (p. 141) that 'there were several printed papers, setting forth the obligation of every Englishman to oppose the tyranny of the army under Lambert, and a dialogue between a souldier of the Scottish army and the English, where the whole quarrel was stated; and every week there was an officer of the army (who was guilty of a little wit) appointed to write a gazette, and these were dispersed among the souldiers, and read upon the guard.[1] . . . There was nothing that did more assure the army, and render them more forward for the service, than these plain and honest arts.'

Among the unique collection of pamphlets printed at Edinburgh at this time, at Worcester College, are three items which illustrate the propaganda to which Gumble refers:

1. *A Conference between two Souldiers Meeting on the Roade, the one being of the Army in England, the other of the Army in Scotland. As the one was comming from London, the other from Edinburgh.* The first Part. November 1659.

2. *Information from some Souldiers of the Parliaments Army in Scotland to their honest Fellow-Souldiers of the Army in England.*

3. *The Faithfull Intelligencer.*[2] *From the Parliaments Army in Scotland.* Written by an officer of the Army there. After the first issue the title is changed to *Mercurius Britanicus*, of which there were four numbers. The pagination of these five newspapers is continuous: their dates are 29 November/3 December, 8–15 December, 15–20 December, 20–22 December, 23 December/3 January 1660. They contain newsletters from England, and a little information of affairs in England and Scotland, but most space is devoted to criticisms of the English army leaders and their official organ, *Mercurius Politicus.*

The other two items are of too great importance to be passed over briefly, because they are practically the only evidence we have of the motives which Monck's propagandists thought would influence the private soldiers. Since they were successful in their object, it may be safely assumed that they reflected the sentiments

[1] Cf. *Clarke Papers*, iv. 229, 231.

[2] This is the only item in the Thomason Tracts, E. 1010 (20).

of the rank and file. The *Conference* is much the more elaborate, and too long to be reprinted in full. The following extracts contain nearly everything said by the soldier from Scotland, but the arguments of his comrade from England are stated as briefly as possible.

The English soldier begins: '. . . we heare you are beginning a new Warr.'

Scottish soldier: 'No, no. What we doe is in pursuance of our good Old Cause, to stand up for the Parliament, which we heare you have forceably interrupted, and turned out.'

The English soldier asks his opponent if he remembers why he took up arms originally.

Scottish soldier: 'Yes, and then I went out for the preservation and defence of the true Protestant Religion, the King's Person, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Laws and Liberties of the subject.'

The English soldier inquires whether the army now in Scotland had consented to the King's execution.

Scottish soldier: 'Yes; for when upon better information we found, That Kings were made for the people, and not the people for Kings: That men are freeborn into the World and not any man's slaves; That no man ought to have a Native and Hereditary Right over others. But that the power under God is originally in the people, and to be derived from thence, and that all trusts are conditionall; We beleeved the King was as well bound to defend his people, as his people were to be subject to him; and that if he fayled of the one, they were discharged of the other, els the King might destroy them at his pleasure; and finding that the King had betrayed his trust and endeavoured the ruine of his people; we took ourselves not onely bound to defend our selves against him, but also to call him to an accompt as guilty of the highest crymes for destroying the end of his trust, making his power an advantage to our ruine. . . .

When we found that the House of Lords as well as the King, exercised an Authority by Prerogative over the people, without their consent and deputation; it was seen fit to lay them aside also, as inconsistent with the people's Liberties.'

The English soldier next asks whether he agreed with the expulsion of many members of Parliament in 1648.

Scottish soldier: 'Yes, for we found that the honest party of the House, who were for carrying on the good Old Cause; were

over-voted by a Major Party, and we were forced to it, or els our Cause had been lost.'

The English soldier asks whether he approved of the expulsion of the remnant of the Long Parliament in 1653.

Scottish soldier: 'I must confesse we did so, and were still forced to it, for carrying on that Cause, which we were called unto, and tooke our selves bound in Conscience to prosecute, for the defence of the People's Liberties.'

The English soldier defends at length the expulsion of October 1659.

Scottish soldier: 'But I pray you, How can it be lawfull for the servant to rise up against his Master? Did not you lately restore them to the power, and acknowledge them, and take Commissions at their Barr, and receive their Pay?'

The English soldier argues that the army were as much masters as servants, and the fact that the Parliament voted them money paid by the people did not make them servants.

Scottish soldier: 'I doe not well understand this, for the Parliament is the Body of the People; and they Called, and Commissionated the Army and payd them; and therefore the Army are servants to the Parliament.'

The English soldier then claims that the army fought 'Not as Servants, or Mercenary men, for Wages. . . . But as Free-men of *England*, for their own liberties, unto whom God hath given the Victory; who now stand not bound in Duty and Conscience to any assembly of men, no more then formerly to the King, to be commanded to doe their wills: But as Members of the *English* nation, to pursue the just ends of their undertaking, for recovery and preservation of their liberties, as well against any Parliament that shall violate their Rights, as against King and Lords, and no more to yeild themselves slaves to any new Power or Government than they did to the old.'

Scottish soldier: 'I am not willing to say any thing against former proceedings, because we had our hands therein, as well as you; but this, both you and we may pleade for our selves necessity forced us to it: But we cannot see any necessity for this rash undertaking.'

The English soldier then asserts that when Parliament began to displace 'the chiefest worthies of the *Army*' and encouraged 'the common enemy', their expulsion was justified.

Scottish soldier: 'We conceive that the Military Power, ought

to be subject to the Civill, and this was but to put the Sword into the people's own hands.'

English soldier: 'We know not why the Civill power ought to be called the people's hands, more than the Military . . . to subject all honest men, and [the] honest interest of the Nation to the wisedom, will and pleasure of that House, and those that should succeed them; argues either a very bad designe, or gross inadvertency, . . .'

Scottish soldier: 'But we heare, the chiefe difference began about Generall Officers; and we are of the same mind with the Parliament, that there are enough Generall Officers; for we have found how dangerous it is to have men in such great power, they may make themselves Kings or Protectors, or what they please. . . .

But alas, now you have dissolved all that had any face of Civill Authority in the Nation; Nothing remaines but the Sword to Rule and Governe, which is a thing we hate as much as the people can doe. . . .

But I pray, what doe you intend further? I hope you doe not purpose alwayes to keep up the Sword. When shall we have a Parliament, for that onely will satisfie us and the people?'

The English soldier answers: '. . . so soon as a forme of government is agreed, . . .'

Scottish soldier: 'How! when a Forme of Government is agreed on; I pray who must agree in that? Can any doe it but a Parliament?'

The English soldier remarks that a free Parliament would destroy all they fought for.

Scottish soldier: 'Truely we feare a Free Parliament, that is, a Parliament chosen by the whole Body of the People, as well as you; and herein we are in a straite. We are satisfied, That a Parliament is the best Government; and yet a Free Parliament will destroy us, and that chiefly makes us call for the old Parliament, which of necessity, even for selfe security, we conceived would adhere to our Cause.'

The English soldier goes on to argue that 'it is the duty of those to whom God hath given the Victory, to see such Fundamentall Constitutions setled, as are consonant to the Law of God, and Principles of Justice and Righteousnesse, and that just Freedom, both as to the inward and outward man, which belongs to every man, as a Member of the Creation of God. . . .'

'All our Principles are summed up in one, founded upon that just and righteous Rule, wherein is fulfilled the whole Law and the Prophets; . . .'

Scottish soldier: 'If that be your principle, I hope we shall never differ; for we doe with as much earnestnesse as your selves, long to see such a Government, and Laws setled, as stand upon that Foundation: And if we shall confesse, that the late Assembly was no Parliament, but that their authority is perfectly determined, that you had good Reason and Right to end their sitting, and ought to proceed to pursue the ends of the great cause of just Liberty, it will not at all prejudice the rights of the people; And I beleeve that generally the people would be as little satisfied as your selves, to have that Assembly rule over them. But yet these things seem strange and contrary to our ancient Laws and Government; and now we know not where, nor how to come to a settlement. . . .

Truely for our parts many of us (we can say it) we would not fight in a personall quarrell, not for the best of Persons, neither for Members of a Parliament, nor for the Officers of the Army; but for the good Cause of justice, freedome and Righteousnesse, in which we have been engaged; . . . that worke onely will he [God] carry on, and therein (I am convinced by your Discourse) is the power and true authority; . . .'

INFORMATION

From some SOULDIERS of the Parliaments Army in *Scotland*, to their honest Fellow-Souldiers of the Army in *England*.

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Souldiers,

BEcause we understand you look upon us as Enemies, and are now preparing your Arms against us; before we enter into Blood, we have thought it fit to acquaint you with the true state of the Case. We are none of your Enemies, but have the same Love and Affection for you as ever. We are doing nothing against you, nor to your prejudice, but only going to restore the Parliament to their Freedom, which you cannot be against, unlesse you be against your selves. Who was it that you fought for at first but this Parliament? or from whom else do you expect your Pay? Whose Interest is it that they should not be suffered to sit again? Not yours, but only the Interest of some few Officers amongst you, who rather than they would lose their Places, which they had justly forfeited by their Ambition and Treachery, would engage you and us in Blood, and hazard the Destruction of the whole Nation. Who are they amongst you that are most zealous for keeping in those Officers? some Anabaptists only that have a design to set up themselves alone, and to suffer none to enjoy any Imployment in the Army, but themselves only. This you cannot but know well enough, and this those Officers knew but too well, and for this reason have of late courted them, though heretofore some of them were of another mind; Do you not remember how this last Summer, hundreds of Officers were turned out, and all in danger of their places but the Anabaptists. And, though this was fathered upon the Parliament, yet it was the Committee of Nominations doings, in which these Officers governed, and you know very well that Anabaptists were the Informers. And now, because the Parliament put a stop to this Design, which was to put all power into the hands of these Anabaptists, and those that favoured them; Contrary to all our Engagements, a new Force must be put upon them, and

you and we engaged in Blood, your selves put upon Free-quarter, and in danger to lose your Arrears: For, who hath paid you hitherto but Parliaments? or who else can be able to pay you hereafter? They tell you they will call a Free Parliament, but do not believe them. That will be no Free Parliament that they can trust. And to be sure that it should not be free, they have appointed Conservators of their own Gang, to govern them. But do you think that any Parliament will raise Money for those that will suffer them to do nothing else, or to maintain others to tyrannize over them? Do not deceive your selves; Either such a Parliament will not act at all, or else will joyn with us against those, who have the same Quarrel with all Parliaments as they have with the Long one. It was not long since they would not endure the name of a Parliament, and they give us now the bare name, only to cheat you and us. They tell you we are bringing in CHARLES STEWART, but you your selves cannot believe them. If you could think so of us, whom you have long known to be as much against Him, as any of those who are the Inventors of that lye; yet can you think the Long PARLIAMENT are for Him? Can you think *Okey*, and *Allured*, and *Hacker*, and *Whetham*, and *Morley*, and *Mosse*, and *Smythson*, and the rest of the Officers that are turned out of their Commands by the Nine Men, are for Him? Will the Flanders Regiments believe Major General MORGAN is for Him? Or will not the Irish Brigade, and those that have served in Scotland, scorn and hate those impudent slanderers of General MONCK upon that accompt? Brethren, we are confident the greatest part of you will joyn with us in the prosecution of these honest and plain Ends; And, upon the first opportunity, come over to us, which if you do, you will enter into present pay, and secure your Arrears, and immediately settle these distracted Nations. Otherwayes you will involve us all in Blood, and the Blood will light upon your Heads. We do not desire the prejudice of those Officers that put the Force upon the Parliament, what ever they may have deserved, but shall endeavour their Indempnity. We do not envie the Anabaptists the same Liberty and the same Encouragement that we desire our selves, but we would not have them rule over us at so dear a rate, as the losse of that Cause for which so much of your and our Blood hath been shed.

EDINBURGH, Printed by *Christopher Higgins*, in *Harts* Close, over against the Trone-Church, 1659.

APPENDIX VII

SKETCH OF MONCK'S LIFE UNTIL 1650.

George Monck (1608–70), born at Potheridge near Torrington in Devonshire, was the second son of Sir Thomas Monck. In 1625 he thrashed an under-sheriff who had treacherously arrested his father. To avoid trouble, he served as a volunteer in the disastrous expedition to Cadiz (1625) under his kinsman Sir Richard Grenville, a major in Sir John Borough's regiment.

About 1629 he entered the Dutch service, and fought in the campaigns in the Netherlands until 1637, when a quarrel with the magistrates of Dort about their jurisdiction over his soldiers caused his retirement. In 1640 he became lieutenant-colonel of the Earl of Newport's regiment in the army Charles I led against the Scottish Presbyterians, and is said to have saved the guns after the rout at Newburn.

The outbreak of the Irish Rebellion compelled the English Government to raise a force to subdue it, and in February, 1642, Monck proceeded to Ireland as colonel of the regiment of foot of the Earl of Leicester, the Lord-Lieutenant. He won much credit by his successes against the Irish rebels in 1642–3, and became very popular with his men. Before the Cessation of September, 1643, he was given leave to return to England, where he was arrested on suspicion of disloyalty to Charles I. He easily vindicated his conduct, and joined the army from Ireland in time to share its disasters at the battle of Nantwich (January, 1644), where he was taken prisoner. He was confined in the Tower for the next two years. During his imprisonment he compiled his *Observations upon Military and Political Affairs*, published posthumously in 1671. This work is interesting because it contains many shrewd comments by a professional soldier on the military science of the day, but unfortunately it was written before Monck had had much experience of the methods of fighting evolved in England during the Great Rebellion. On the other hand, the *Observations* prove that Monck had already formulated the principles on which he based his future career.

'The greatest virtue which is required in a Souldier is Obedience',[1] is a precept Monck followed as a subordinate and enforced as a commander-in-chief. Another maxim to which he owed much of his success as a general was the importance of providing adequate supplies of food and clothes for his men.[2] His recognition that 'it is requisite in a General to mingle love with the severity of his Discipline'[3] explains his popularity with the rank and file of his army. The methods he employed to subdue the Highlands of Scotland are clearly foreshadowed in a passage dealing with the subjugation of an elusive foe when aided by natural obstacles: 'there is no other way, than so to harrass and waste the Country, that the Enemy may be famished out of his Holds, and brought to subjection by scarcity and necessity.'[4]

Monck was released from confinement on condition of serving the Parliament in Ireland. In 1647 and 1648 he commanded the Parliamentary forces in Ulster with much skill, but the defection of the Scots in 1648, and their adherence to the cause of Charles II (after his father's execution in January, 1649), made his position very difficult. In May, 1649, he was forced to negotiate a truce of three months on terms which were strongly condemned by the English House of Commons in August. He was therefore left without a military command until July, 1650, when Cromwell gave him a colonelcy in his army.

APPENDIX VIII

'INFORMATION HOW TO TRAIN OR DRILL A FOOT COMPANY.'

This guide to company drill is among the Clarke MSS. (loose papers) in Worcester College, Oxford, but it almost certainly belongs to the decade previous to William Clarke's presence in Scotland with the Cromwellian army. Both the paper and the handwriting belong to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and the contents point to the year 1640, or a little earlier, as the date of its composition. It follows, therefore, that it was probably compiled for the use of Scottish officers in the First or Second Bishops' War, perhaps by a Scot who had served

[1] *Observations*, p. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 16. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

abroad. Thus it is not quite up-to-date as far as the drill of the New Model is concerned, though the only changes introduced since its composition would probably be confined to musketeers. To follow the development of infantry drill, the student should compare this guide with Richard Elton's *Complete Body of the Art Military* (1650) and the *Abridgement of the English Military discipline*, printed by His Majesty's special command (1686). The 'postures' of the pike or musket described in this 'information' are fully illustrated in works such as Henry Hexham's *The First Part of the Principles of the Art Military practised in the warres of the United Netherlands . . . represented by figure* (2nd ed., 1642).

Information how to train or dreill a foot Company (p. 1)

Footmen ar aither muskettiers or pikmen and both sortes ar requyrit to mak vp a foot company and one regement vnder the command of the self same officers and ar alyk ordered and framed for service and follow both of them on culloures

Ane companie then is ane bodie of men composit of stringis or fyles and rankis A fyle or string is a sequence of men standing on behind another bake to bellie

The fyle or string is the deip or thiknes of the battell

The number or deipth of a string or fyle according to the swedines[1] disciplin is sex deip and according to the Holland ten deip. Everie man in his string or fyle is placit according to his worth The first man quha is on the rigt hand in the front is callit the leader The secund man in dignitie is callit the bringer vp this man is on the ryt hand in the reir. The thrid man is the leader of the 5 rank according to the Holland disciplin and is callit midilman to the front The fourt man is the leader of the sext rank according to the Holland disciplin and of the fourt rank according to the Swedin disciplin Joyning of fyles or stringes produces rankis and rankis extend the lenth of the battell.

These quha ar in ane fyle or string ar callit leaders and followers Those of one rank ar callit sydmen

A rank then is Row of men standing ane by another in a ryt lyne schoulder to schoulder

As men in thair fyles or stringes ar placit according to y^r^ worth

[1] Swedish.

soe ar the fyles rankit in the battill according to thair dignitie The first place of dignitie hath the fyle or string one the right hand which is callit the ryt flank The secund place hath the fyle or string on the left hand which is callit the left flank. We sould place oure best men in front

p. 2)

Off distances

Souldiers being airmit and put in a bodie they must then know thair distances for all rankis augt to be equall one to another as also fyles And thairfoir a souldiers cheif cair sould be to have ane eye to his leader and sydman yat he may keip ane equall distance baith in his rank and fyle.

Distances then ar 3 opin order, order, and close order Or first secund and thrid distance. Opin order is quhen 3owr men baith in rank and fyle stand remove sex foot from another exerceis 3owr companie in this ordour

Order is quhen they stand remove 3 foot both in string and rank ane from ane other This distance is vsit quhen 3e embattell 3owr trowpes and led them againes the enemie Or quhen 3e cum to stand or memes to wheill the bodie or mak the great turne

Observe that quhen 3owr companie marches they must keep 3 foot betuix string and sex foot betuix rankis

Close order is quhen 3owr men stand a foot and a half remove from string to string and thrie foot from rank to rank And this distance is onlie for pikmen quhen they chairge or ressave the chairge of the enemie.

Off marching.

Efter that a confused bodie of men is ordourlie digestit into stringis and rankis and that everie ane knowis thair distance The next thing is how to mak them march in dew order

All marches ar either in battell aray or by divisounes Mark that 3owr pikis sould be altogidder in the midis and the half of 3owr musketts on the richt flank and the other half on the left flank of 3owr pikis quhen 3e ar marcheing in battell aray

p. 3) Quhen 3e must marche be divisiounes In respect of the straitnes of the grund. 3e ar to command the bodie to mak ane halt or stand Then 3e ar to command the richt flank of muskettiers to marche out from the bodie till thair bringers vp be befoir the string leaders of the pikis And this sall be the first divisioun

of muskettiers Nixt according to the swedines disciplin and quhair the companie consistis bot of ane hundreth and 8 y^{r} is be ane divisioun of pikis 3e ar to command the fyve stringes of pikis on the richt hand to march out from the rest and to follow the muskettiers stringing even with them bot keiping a distance of 12 foot betuix the divisiounes quhair the Ensigne must marche and this sall be 3owr first divisioun of pikis Efter them sall follow the rest of the pikis which sall be 3owr secund divisioun of pikis keiping also a distance as the former last of all followes the left flank of muskettiers which was on the left flank of the pikis and this sall be 3owr secund divisioun of muskettiers

The capitane marches in the front befoir the first divisioun of muskets the enseigne with the cullours is to marche befoir the first divisioun of pickis

The oldest serjand is to lead the secund divisioun of pikis

The secund serjand leadis the 2 divisioun of muskettiers

The leiutenant marches in the reir of all

The first drum beats betuix the 3 and 4 rank of the first divisioun of muskettiers

The secund drum beats betuix the 3 and 4 rank of the first divisioun of pikis

Sum causes the first drum beat behind the capitane In the front and the vther drum befoir the enseigne

Now quhen 3e cum againe to ane fair peice grund and desyred to marche in battell aray to be the more reddie to withstand the assaulte of the enemie. (p. 4)

The capitane in the front commandis the first division of muskettiers to halt Then commandis the first divisioun of pikis which the enseigne leadis to marche vpoun the left hand of them. Thairefter the first serjand to bring vp the secund divisioun of pikis vpoun the left hand of the former. Lastlie the secund serjand to march vp with the secund divisioun of muskettiers vpoun the left hand of all And so they stand embattelled as they wer at first

Observe quhen 3e marche in battell the enseigne goes in the front of the pikis with his collours fleing cheiflie if he be in sicht of the enemie or goeing out or cumming in to his quarter or entring vpon gward

But in sight he is to reteir in to the midle rank of the pikis

The drumes beat also in the front bot in sight they must draw asyd to the flankis

The cheif drum is to attend the Capitane to delyver his command by tonk [1] of drum quhen the voice cannot be hard

The serjands marches in the flankis at sight or quhen 3e ar marcheing in battell order to meit the enemie The eldest in the richt The vther in the left haveing cair that everie man marche ordairlie and keip his distance and that no man goe out of his rank

The leiutenant remanes in the reir bringing vp the companie and seing that no man fall bak bot that everie man doe his dewtie.

Observe also that quhen 3e marche be divisiounes and cumes to ane narrow strait quhair onlie ane or tua can goe in the front as over a plank Then 3e must mak them marche away ather be stringes or rankis leading out ane string before ane vther and so furth And that ather to the richt or left hand as the strait sall lye vpoun the richt or left flank which being done and they all over the capitane commandis rankis as they wer and so they returne to yair first statioun

Observe in lyk maner that if 3e be to draw vp 3owr men In ane squar battell quhois rankis and stringis sall be of equall number it is quiklie done by extracting the squar root of the number of 3owr men which will be baith the lenth and deip of 3owr battell As for example 3e have 400 men to put in a squar battell 3e seik out the square root of 400 which 3e find to be 20 and thairfoir in ane instant 3e draw vp 3owr men 20 in string and 20 in rank

o. 5)
nent
raweing vp
f a battell
ankis ar
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t sum vse
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nd the
vadines bot
in fyle.

Bot if 3e be to mak ony vther square battell 3e have nothing to doe bot to devyd the number of 3owr men by the deip givin and the quotus sall be the lenth of 3owr front which I schew befoir as in this instance devyd 400 by the deip of 10 the quotus 40 sall give 3ow 40 in rank if 3e vse onlie sex deip then 3e must change this compt.

Observe also that the souldiers be acquanted with the severall beats of the drum and to vnderstand quhen the drum beats a gathering, a marche, a troup, a chairge, a retreat, a relief, and according as the drum beats swift or slow so to accommodat thair motioun as to marche slow or fast to charge with greater or les violence to reteir with great or les speid and so furth.

In the nixt place the souldiers ar to be taucht the vse and postures of the pik and musket.

The postures then which the pikmen sould vse ather standing or marcheing ar these To witt

[1] Tack or tap.

1 Lift 3owr pik
2 Schoulder 3owr pik
3 sklent[1] cairie 3owr pik
4 over end or set down 3owr pik
5 mount 3owr pik.
6 Traill 3owr pik.
7 By the point hold 3owr pik
8 Recover 3owr pik by palning[2]
9 Port 3owr pik.
10 Present 3owr pik to the front
11 To the ryt hand present 3owr pik
12 To the left hand present 3owr pik
13 To the reir be ye ryt hand present 3owr pik
14 To ye reir be ye left hand present 3owr pik
15 Lay doun 3owr pik.

Anent the pik. (p. 6)

Observe that these 3 postures tak vp 3owr pik order 3owr pik or over end it and lay doun 3owr pik ar to be doun onlie standing the rest standing or marcheing

3e must remark that quhen 3owr men chairge standing to mak them fall bak with the richt leg and marcheing to set fordwart the left.

Also they must know to chairge to the ryt to the left and to the reir from being advancit ordered or schouldrit all alyk reddie

To chairge by the left hand to the reir is the maist easie and most commodious motioun.

In a marche 3e must alwayis have 3owr pikis schouldrit quhen 3e cum to ane port 3e sould port 3owr pikes. In a marc pikis to be schouldrit

Vpoun ane halt 3e sould order 3owr pikis except 3e be commandit to the contrair.

Quhen the haill battil chairges ane way the first 5 rankis must chairge the way commandit and the other 5 (if they be 10 deip) most onlie port thair pikis and so cairie them over the headis of the leaders that they no wayis hinder them when battellis cum to push of pik it is thocht fittest to goe joyntlie one togidder In a route without moveing y[r] armes

The chairge at the foot againes the hors is not now vsit in

[1] Slanting. [2] Read 'palming.'

the low countries bot the chairge over hand aloft becaus say they they have the pik mair at command to turne q[r] they will.

The postures of ye musket are these

1 Tak vp 3owr musket & staf.
2 Joyne 3o[r] musket & staf.
3 Blow 3o[r] pan.
4 Morse[1] 3owr pan.
5 Schoot[2] 3owr pan
6 Cast off 3owr louse pulder
7 Cast about 3owr musket and staf
8 Chairge 3owr musket
9 recover your musket in 3o[r] ryt hand
10 schoulder 3owr musket & cairie ye staf w[t] it
11 marche
12 Sink yo[r] musket & vnschoulder it
13 tak out 3owr lount[3]
14 Blow 3owr lount
15 Cok 3owr lount
16 Try 3owr lount
17 Gward 3owr pan
18 Present blow 3owr lunt opin 3owr pan and give fyre
19 Tak doun 3owr muskit vncok 3owr lunt
20 Stand to 3owr sentinell posture
21 Lay doun 3owr musket

p. 7) Observe that this multitud of postures in service ar brocht to thir[4] thrie mak reddie, present, and give fyre.

The muskettier vpoun a marche is alwayis to have his muskett schouldrit and the staf in his richt hand

Vpoun ane halt or stand the musketteir is alwayis to rest his muskit vnles he have command to the contrair.

The muskettier sould alwayis cairie the mouth of his muskett hie alsweill quhen he is coking his match trying and gwarding his pan as quhen he cumes vp to give fyre.

Quhen he is to blow his matche he sould bring the musket to his mouth and not stoup doun to it.

Quhen they give fyre in the feild they sould aime no hier nor the belt of a man.

In a trenche they sould aime at the pairt they sie of a man.

[1] Prime. [2] Shut. [3] Match. [4] Read 'these'.

Of motiounes and first of faceing

Souldiers then being airmit and drawn vp in ane ordorlie bodie and knoweing thair distances marches and postures The chief thing y^r efter they ar to learne is yair motiounes

The motiounes of troupes are tuo fold, of the haill or of a pairt

Of the haill aither in keiping grund or changeing ground keiping grund when everie persoun moveth in his proper place as in faceing

Changeing grund quhen the battallioun changeth the grund it stood in as in counter marche and wheilling

The motioun a pairt is quhen a pairt of the battell moveth and pairt standeth still as in doubleinges closeinges opninges for in these motiounes sum rankis or stringis standis and the rest moves.

I will begin then with faceing

Faceing is a motioun transferring the souldiers face to the flank or the reir of the battell and y^r foir is of tuo sortes

The ane quhen the souldier makis a quarter turne to the richt or left hand The vther quhen they mak ane half turne

The actioun of this motioun is thus performed The souldier (p. 8) standis still with his left leg and turneing onlie vpoun his heill draweth bak the ry^t leg if he face to the ry^t hand or bringes fordward the ry^t leg if he face to the left hand and this is to be done in ane stand.

Bot in ane marche faceing to the ry^t hand they must bring fordward the left leg.

The vse of this motioun in a stand is to be reddie at ane instant to receave the chairge of the enemie if they assaill ather of 3o^r flankis Bot if 3e face and marche 3e may thairby prevent the enemie from falling vpoun 3owr winges

If the enemie chairge baith 3owr flankis at one tyme 3e must face the half of 3owr battell to the ryt hand and the vther half to the left That is the half of the stringes which ar vpoun the ryt flank faces to the ryt hand They [1] vther half faces to the left hand

The wordis of command ar

faces to the richt hand
faces to the left hand

[1] Read 'the'.

faces to the ryt and left handes by divisioun.

As 3e wer

The secund maner of faceing is quhen the souldier makis ane half turne to the reir by the ry^{t} or left hand

This motioun is evin as the vther except that the souldier makis twyse als great ane turne.

The vse of it is if the enemie chairge 3owr reir then 3e ar reddie to receave him by turneing of the faces of all 3o^{r} battell to the reir.

Or if 3e be set vpoun baith vpoun front and reir Then 3e must face about the half of 3owr battell if 3e be 10 deip half fyles or middilmen with thair followers which are fyve last rankis to the reir which we call reir divisioun so that 3e sall be able to ressave the enemie baith in front and reir

(p. 9)

The wordis of command ar

By the richt hand to the reir
By the left hand to the reir
face to the richt about
face to the left about
Half stringes or 6. rank to the ry^{t} or left about
As 3e wer.

Sum say so mair and properlie

If the enemie chairge 3ow on all sydes 3e must face to the front reir and flankis.

Mark quhen 3e ar compellit to doe this 3e must enlarge 3owr deip aboute ten if he have bot ordorlie sex deip Then 3e must mak them 12 deip Befoir I goe farder I must adverteis 3ow of ane thing which will serve in all motiounes when 3e wald reduce 3owr men to thair first statioun 3e ar to command them as 3e wer And so 3e ar to bring them bak to the place from which they went by the contrarie way As for exemple if they turned to the ryt hand They must returne bak againe to the left hand and so furth

Off doublinges

Doubling is ane motioun of a pairt of the battell (for the pairt doubled standeth and the pairt doubling onlie moveth) quhair by ather the lenth or deip is augmentit and y^{r} for doubling is of tuo sortis rankis or stringis

Doubling of rankis is a motioun quhairby the lenth of the

battell is enlargit and the deip diminishit by inserting the ane half of the rankis in the vther.

The motioun is performed sundrie wayis.

First quhen the evin rankis ar inserted in the odis as the secund in the first the 4 in the 3. and so furth and this is to be done ather to the ryt or left hand

If the command be to doubill to the richt hand Then everie ane quho doubles steppes vpoun the ryt hand of his leader if to the left On the left hand of his leader.

This motioun is to be performed be the souldiers in thrie steppes begining with the left leg and stepping fordward with the richt vpoun the richt or left hand of the leaders and yn bringing vp ye left leg place ym selfis in evin rank with ye rest.

Bot in reducement they must turne to the contrarie hand That (p. 10) is if they doublit to the richt they must turne againe to the left and so furth

The wordis of command ar

Double 3owr rankis to the ryt hand } As 3e wer
Double 3owr rankis to the left hand }

Secundlie rankis ar doublit by the bringares vp quhen the left rank advances throw the distances betuix the stringes and efter it the next last rank and so the rest successivelie till the bringares vp be in the rank with the leaders

This done as the former aither to the ryt or left hand.

Let the pikmen observe quhen they begin to double that they mount thair pikis and quhen they ar doublit that they order or overend them and in reducement that they turne to the contrarie hand as I shew befoir in the first doubling

The wordis of command ar

Midlemen or half fyles to the ryt hand double the front } As 3e wer
Midlmen or half fyles to the left hand double the front }

Observe that these doublings ar to be done at oppin order

Fourtlie rankis ar doublit by midlemen or half fyles enteir or by divisioun Enteir quhen the half fyles or last 5 rankis face about to the hand to which they ar commandit to double and marche out altogidder from the bodie till they be cleir of it

and then face to the front and marche vp to joyne themselfis in evin front with the fyle leaders [1]

By divisioun quhen those half fyles doe face the ane half to the richt hand the vther to the left And so goeing out from the bodie they marche vp vpoun baith flankis vntill they cum and front with the fyle leaders

The wordis of command ar

Half fylyes to the richt hand double 3owr front enteir
Half fyles to the left hand double 3owr front enteir
Half fyles double yowr front to the ry^t^ & left by divisioun
} As 3e wer

(p. 11) Doubling of fyles is a motioun quhairby the deip of the battell is increased and the lenth diminishit by inserting the ane half of the fyles in the vther and is performed sundrie wayis.

The first is this way done the rycht hand fyle which is the first standis still the secund fyle nixt it steps about and moves in to it and so furth

The motioun is performed thus if the command be to the richt hand then they quho double first turnes about and sets fordward the richt hand and then bringes on the ry^t^ leg & place y^r^ bodie evin in a rycht lyne behind thair sydmen.

Quhen they cum againe to the first order they move first thair left leg and in thrie steps recover thair statioun.

If the command be to double to the left hand they quho double first turne about and sets fordward y^r^ left leg as so does as is aboue remembring that quhen they returne they step fordward with the richt leg & in thrie steps recover thair first place.

The wordis of command ar

Double 3owr stringis to the ry^t^ hand
Double 3owr stringis to the left hand
} Stringes as 3e wer

The rest of the formes being rather curious nor profitable I omit them except one that is they mak the rankis to string to the rycht hand or to the left hand or to aither by divisioun and this last is callit fyleing by inversioun

[1] [Written in the margin]: *Nota.* Yis order being 6 deip then doublit in 3 is excellent to withstand suldiours landing actis thus The first rank vpoun y^r^ kneis yei stouping & the 2 standing at command and give vniversall fyre—bot—remember y^t^ the ry^t^ flank give first fyre and y^e^ efter the vther.

The vse of doubling of stringes is to strenthen the deip of 3owr battell to resist the enemye quhen 3e think he myndis to brak throw 3ow

It serves also to mak 3owr forces sem few to allure the enemy to fight

It serves also to let the schot goe throw 3owr stringis quhen 3e marche to wardis a fort.

Bot 3e must tak heid that quhen 3e double the deip of 3owr battell 3e mak not 3owr front too narrow & so give occasioun to the enemie to overfront 3ow and encompas 3ow.

Off evolutioun or Countermarche first of stringes or fyles.

Countermarche is a motion of the haill battell quhairby the front is brocht in place of the reir or an flank in place of another.

And thairfoir counter marche is twofold of stringes or of rankis (p. 12) and baith of these is thrie fold for aither they gaine grund (in marcheing not in chargeing) or lose grund, or keip yat same grund

And becaus countermarche now vsit is onlie to keip grund y^r^ for it is performit thus if the word be to countermarche to the richt hand Then all the string leaders at one instant step forward with the rycht leg and bringeing about y^r^ left leg turnes thair bodie to the richt hand and so marche doun the stringes till they cum to the place of the bringares vp quher they sall stand and so furth

If to the left hand the string leaders must step fordward with the left leg and bring about the ryt leg turne yair bodie to the left hand and marche doun as the former

Observe that everie follower remark his leader and his richt hand man vther wayes y^r^ will be great confusioun

Observe also that is[1] motioun can not be done but at oppin order also it ocht not be vsit quhein the enemie is neir hand

The vse of this motioun is if the enemie chairge 3ow In the reir then 3e may bring 3owr best men out of the front to meit them

The wordis of command

Stringes to the richt hand countermarche
Stringes to the left hand countermarche } Stringis as 3e wer

[1] Read 'this'.

Off countermarche of Rankis

Countermarche of rankis is quhen ane wing of the battell is brocht in place of ane vther or the winges in the mides of the battell.

To bring one wing of the battell in place of the vther is done thus faces to the left hand or richt hand as ȝe pleis and then command Rankis to the rycht hand countermarche or to the left hand as ȝe think fit.

This motioun is performit lyk yat stringes countermarche *vt supra.*

The vse of countermarcheing by rankis is to bring ane wing or flank in place of the vther

By this maner of countermarche ȝe may bring ȝowr wing in place of the bodie quilk is done thus ȝowr richt hand string faces
(p. 13) to the left the left-hand string faces to the rycht and marche baith in to the center of the battell quhill they meit vther face to face the rest of each rank vpoun baith winges followes them and marches out quhill the tua midle stringes or fyles have gottin the place of the corner fyles and the corner fyles the place of the middill fyles This is of excellent vse in oure disciplin to bring the pikis to the winges and the muskettiers in the midis in caice yair wer ane chairge of hors and the muskettiers give fyre vpoun them.

Observe that in a countermarche of stringes it is the rank that Countermarche and moves doun throw the distance betuix the stringis the first rank begining the secund with the rest continweing the motioun quhill it be endit

In a countermarche of Rankis the stringes countermarche & moves throw the distances betuix the rankis the corner string which hath the command to countermarche begining the motioun and the rest of the stringes continweing it quhill it be finishit and yerfor in the countermarche of rankis ye motioun is in the lenth of the battell.

Off closeing and opining the Battell.

Closeing is draweing of the battell to a les distance Opning is ane extending of it to ane greater distance nor it had befoir And both ar nither in lenth or deip And thairfoir tua fold of stringes and Rankis.

Closeing of stringis is ane contracting of the lenth of the

battell and mantening the same deip and is thrie fold for stringes ar aither closit to the richt hand or to the left or to the midle of y^e^ battell.

The wordis of command ar

Close 3owr stringes to the richt hand
Close 3owr stringes to the left hand
Close 3owr stringes
} To 3owr order or, close order

The motioun is to be performed thus by faceing to the hand they intend to close to

Closeing of rankis is a contracting of the deip of the battell and is performit one way onlie To wit towardis the front which is done thus. The first rank standis still the secund rank cumes vp and closes to the distance commandit and so furth.

Wordis of command. (p. 14)

Rankis close to 3owr 2. or 3. distance or to 3owr order or close order

Opning is ane extentioun of the lenth or deip of the battell and thairfoir is tua fold of stringes or rankis

Opning of stringes is ane extentioun of the lenth of the battell in place and is thriefold as was the closeing for stringes ar opint to ye rycht hand or to the left hand or to baith

Opning of stringes to the richt hand is thus performit

The left hand string standis still the nixt string to it takes it distance and so does the rest

Opning of stringes to the left hand is thus performit the rycht hand string standis still the nixt string to it takis it distance and so does the rest

Opning of stringis to baith handis is thus performit the 2 midlemest stringes stand and the rest oppines or takis thair from them

The wordis of command ar

Opin 3owr stringis to 3owr richt hand
Opin 3owr stringis to 3owr left hand
Opin 3owr stringes
} To 3owr first order or ony order els

Opning of rankis is ane extentioun of the deip of ye battell in place and is performit bot one way to witt towardis the reir which is thus done The first rank standis still and the rest of the rankis fall bakward towardis the reir vntill the secund rank have gottin it distance which then standis and so of the rest

The wordis of command

Opin 3owr rankis to 3owr opin order or ony vther els

Observe if 3e closit stringes to the richt hand & wald reduce yem to y^r^ first statioun command them opin to the left if 3e closit to the left hand reduce them be opning to the richt hand if 3e closit to the midle oppin to the rycht & left by divisioun.

The vse of opning and closeing 3e will find befoir quhen I spak of distances quhervnto I ad yat it is to mak ane armie appeir aither weak or strong to terrifie or allure the enemie

p. 15) Stringes ar closit to the richt or left hand quhen a troup of hors or foot or vagones with baggage ar to pas betuix aither of 3owr flankis at ane strait

Stringes ar closit by the richt or left hand by divisioun quhen 3e will mak a strait throw 3owr battell for a generall or sum great commander to pas

Off conversioun or wheilling

Conversioun or wheilling is ane Motioun of the haill battell towardis ye flankis or reir changeing the grund

And thairfoir wheilling is tuo fold The ane quhen the battell makis a quarter turne to the richt or left hand

The vther is quhen it makis ane half turne to the reir be the richt or left hand

The first is performit thus 3e must command the stringes to close to the hand to which 3e mean to wheill and the rankis to close also fordwardis to the sword poynt then 3e caus the corner string leader on the samyn hand to stand still as the fixit foot of a compas bot moveing in his awin place and all the rest keiping thair stringis and rankis closed to turne to the samyn hand joyntlie about the corner string leader vntill the front of 3owr battill be towardis the flank to which 3e wheill

The wordis of command ar

The great turne to the richt hand }
The great turne to the left hand }

The vther is performit lyk this except that heir 3e mak and half turne to the reir by the richt or left hand whair as befoir it maid bot one quarter turne

The wordis of command ar

The great turne to the reir by the richt hand }
The great turne to the reir by the left hand }

The reducement in wheilling is thus performit if ȝe maid ane quarter turne to aither hand ȝe must first face them to the contrarie hand and then wheill the battill bak to the place it stood in befoir And efter they have faced as they wer lett them oppin rankis & stringes yen ȝe sall be as ȝe wer first

[1] If ȝe have maid ane half turne ȝe must reduce thus if ȝe (p. 16) wheill about to the rycht hand ȝe must ȝit wheill about to the rycht hand if ȝe wheill about to the left hand ȝe must ȝit wheill about to the left hand and then opin rankis and stringes and so ȝowr battell sall be as at first

The vse of quheilling is quhen the enemie cummes to assault in any ane place as at ather of the flankis or the reir ȝe turne the front of ȝowr battell towardis him & so bringes ȝowr best men to fight with him

If he cum to chairge ȝow in more places nor ane wheilling will doe ȝow no guid ȝowr onlie remedie will be face about and receave his chairge

Thair is 3 formes of exerceiseing of muskettiers drawin vp in ane bodie

The first forme or order to give fyre in the front or to win grund is, to win grund vpoun the enemie for doeing quheirof vnderstand that the muskettiers ar 3 foot betuixt stringes and 3 foot betuix rankis haveing a divisioun in the mides of sex foot Then the capitane bidis the first tua rankis mak reddie and marches with them fyve or sex pace befoir the rest of the companie and bidis the first rank give fyre which it doeth and then marcheth away turneing to the richt hand the on half marcheing by the richt flank and the vther throw [2] half throw the middes of the bodie and so fall everie ane into his awin string in the reir And then the capitane commandes the secund rank and so furth to give fyre

To win grund

[1] [Marginal note]: for withstanding of horsmen *Nota* ȝe may wheill to baith handes at once by divisioun ayir in pairt or roundabout according to plesyr and yis is of singular vse to withstand the hors & is performit thus the midmest men in ye reir to the rycht flank and the left flank sall stand & all the rest of ye tua devydit bodies sall move about yem.

[2] Omit.

Thair is ane vther forme of wining grund thus The first rank giveing fyre standis still The rank nixt it passes vp throw the same & presents in dew distance befoir it and gives fyre The thrid rank passes throw yem both & so furth If 3e be stronger nor the enemie and wold mak mair executioun vpoun him yen command the secund rank to double ye first and give fyre altogether

If 3e sustein a chairg baith in front and reir They quho have givin fyre fall away to aither hand & joynes in the divisioun, maid throw the midle of the battell for that effect

The 2 order is to tyn grund or to reteir To give fyre in the reir

The distance and divisioun being observit as in the former The capitan In the rere commandes to the richt hand about and give fyre and then the rank in the reir performes the same and presentlie efter they marche in the front everie man to his owin string the on half on the left hand string and the vther throw the mids of the bodie Then the capitane commandis againe to the richt hand about and give fyre and so furth &c. they still marche or reteires and mak fyre

If 3e wald mak mair executioun vpon the enemie 3e may mak the penult rank double the left as I shew 3ow befoir in doubleing the front

The 3 order to give fyre in the flank

The haill companie being thrie foot distant in stringes and rankis without ony divisioun afoirsaid The capitane marcheing In the front commandis richt flank to the richt hand and give fyre and then the richt hand string turnes towardes the richt hand and performes the samyn and turneing a litill to the left marche vp to the vther syd betuix the pikes and wing of musketteirs quhair thair is enie distance left for that effect If 3e wald mak mair fyre vpoun the enemie 3e may mak the secund string to double to the first abaith to give fyre togidder and so furth caus doe to the rest[1]

Quhen 3e dreill 3owr company being standing ordourlie Then 3e say

[1] Read 'caus the rest to doe'.

Stand richt in 3owr rankis and stringes
ffaces to the richt hand
Faces to the left hand
To the richt and left hand by divisioun
To the reir by the richt hand
To the reir by the left hand
Half stringes to the richt or left hand about
} As 3e wer

Double 3owr Rankis to the richt hand
Double 3owr Rankis to the left hand
} Rank as 3e wer

Bringers vp double 3owr front to the rycht hand
Bringers vp double 3owr front to the left hand
} Bringers vp as ye wer (p. 18)

Midlemen or half fyles to ye rycht hand double 3owr front
Midlemen to the left hand double 3owr front
} Half fyles as 3e wer

Half fyles to ye rycht hand double 3owr front enteir
Half fyles to ye left hand double 3owr front enteir
Half fyles double 3owr front to ye richt & left by divisioun
} Half fyles as 3e wer

Double 3owr stringes to the richt hand
Double 3owr stringes to the left hand
} Stringes as 3e wer

Flankis fyle to the rycht hand
flankis fyle to the left hand
flankis fyle to y^e^ rycht & left by divisioun
} fyles rank as 3e wer

Stringes to the richt hand countermarche
String to the left hand countermarche
Rankis to the richt hand countermarche
Rankis to the left hand countermarche

Close 3owr stringes to the richt hand
Close 3owr stringes to the left hand
Close 3owr stringes
} To 3owr 2 or 3. distance

Close 3owr rankis to 3owr 2. or 3. distance

Opin 3owr stringes to the richt hand
Opin 3owr stringes to the left hand
Opin 3owr stringes
} To 3owr first distance or ony els

Opin 3owr rankis to 3owr first distance or any distance els

The great turne to the rycht hand
The great turne to ye left hand
The great turne to ye reir by the rycht hand
The great turne to ye reir by the left hand.

19) Wordis of command for giveing fyre in the front

first rank mak reddie advance before the front a pace present and give fyre fall away orderlie to the rycht and left by divisoun nixt rank doe the lyk all the rest follow

for fyre in the reir

Last rank mak reddie to the rycht hand about present and give fyre fall of *vt supra* marche vp to the front nixt rank doe the lyk all the rest follow

for fyre in the flankes

Richt or left flank mak reddie to the rycht or left hand present and give fyre marche vp behind the rest nixt fyle doe the lyk all the rest follow.

Finis.

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